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INDIAN OCEAN STATES STOP ATTEMPT TO FORM 'SOCIALIST FRONT'

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 26 Aug 83 p 7

[Article by Henry Reuter]

[Text] NAIROBI--Plans for a "socialist front" in the south-west Indian Ocean have been abandoned because of changing political and economic attitudes in Mauritius, the Seychelles, Madagascar, Reunion and the Comores.

The plans were conceived in the heady aftermath of the Tanzania-backed Seychelles coup which brought President Albert Rene to power.

Attempts to launch the front were made in 1978 at a meeting--backed and organised by the Soviet Union--in Mahe, Seychelles.

It was attended by socialist leaders representing African liberation movements, Tanzania, Libya, South Yemen, Polisario and the Maltese Communist Party.

The meeting demanded the dismantling of the US base on Diego Garcia, the ousting of French troops from Reunion, the expulsion of French forces from the island of Mayotte and the break-up of the South Atlantic Pact.

But the five-member permanent committee set up to pursue these objectives has convened no further meetings.

"We must now assume that it has just faded away," said one Seychelles official.

The Comores, one of the five states appointed to the permanent committee, did not attend any of the meetings.

Attempts are now being made to persuade the Comores and Reunion to join an alternative body--the Indian Ocean Commission--formed this year by Madagascar, Mauritius and the Seychelles.

This organisation's objectives place greater emphasis on economic rather than political co-operation.

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and EEC cash and technical aid are being sought by the commission for co-operative projects.

These include improving trade and communications between the islands, policing fishing grounds, which are being heavily poached by Soviet and Korean vessels, and carrying out a massive oil search.

The search for oil is already under way, following scientific indications that a vast oil lake once existed under the Indian Ocean off the Madagascar coast, and has moved towards the Seychelles.

Governments of the commission's three member states appear not to attach the same value they once did to the demands of the aborted "socialist front".

The Seychelles has recently taken measures to make it possible for the US navy to resume calling at Port Victoria.

Most Mauritian leaders have declared themselves in favour of resumed supplies of provisions and labour to the Diego Garcia base.

And Madagascar's attitudes have in the past two years shown a remarkable swing to the right.

In three of the four Comores islands--those which opted for independence--there is continuing political unrest and a growing conviction among the people that they would have done better to have emulated the fourth island, Mayotte, and remained under French rule.

CSO: 3400/1888

INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

SOVIET DELEGATION VISITS NAMIBIA, ANGOLA

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 2 Aug 83 pp 1, 11

[Text] The delegation of the Soviet Committee on Solidarity with the Countries of Asia and Africa, led by B. Abdurazakov, minister of foreign affairs of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Uzbekistan, which is visiting our country, was received by S.Nujoma, president of SWAPO; W. Mokeba, the South African ANC representative; and the leaders of the OMA [Organization of Angolan Women] of Cuanza Bengo.

During the meeting with Sam Nujoma, the Namibian leader informed the Soviet visitors of the political and military situation in Namibia and the Namibian people's fight for independence. He condemned the maneuvers of imperialistic powers which are trying to delay the regularization of the Namibia problem, as well as the global support given by these powers to the racist South African regime.

Paulo Jorge Receives Soviet Delegation

The Angolan minister of foreign affairs, Paulo Jorge, upon receiving in Luanda the delegation of the Soviet Committee on Solidarity with the Countries of Asia and Africa, declared that "the constructive Soviet initiatives in the limitation of escalated military strength constitute the guarantee of a lasting peace in Angola".

The Angolan minister expressed the desire to pursue the development of friendly relations between Angola and the Soviet Union, and condemned, on the other hand, the policy of the Reagan administration which impedes efforts to avoid nuclear war.

12353

CSO: 3442/334

PROGRESS OF SADCC ASSESSED

London WEST AFRICA in English 29 Aug 83 p 2005

[Article by Michael Wolfers]

[Text]

CO-OPERATION between southern African countries against the dominance of South Africa is fast becoming a reality. The situation is still beset with paradoxes; hence the exchange of words between a Zimbabwe government minister, Simba Makoni, and a journalist from the Johannesburg *Financial Mail* at a press conference in July in Maputo. The correspondent asked for figures on regional development projects and the politician said sharply: "Our projects are getting financed and we are making progress." Mr. Makoni hinted at negative attitudes in the South African press over the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), which came into being three years ago to help the nine member states strengthen their own economies and reduce their economic dependence on South Africa.

As SADCC takes shape as the newest of Africa's sub-regional groupings — and recently won formal endorsement from the United Nations General Assembly — it is obvious that even without the South African threat some such body would be necessary. The member states (Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe) cover a broad spectrum of political philosophy but have inextricable economic interests in common. The fourth SADCC summit was held in Maputo in July with all states represented — in all but Malawi's case by a president or a prime minister — and this summit meeting approved a progress report that recorded finance pledges of more than \$1,000m. for projects in the SADCC action programme.

SADCC has become effective in two directions: it has provided an umbrella under which aid and investment can be sheltered for the region, and it has established a small but active secretariat, albeit dispersed, in the region. SADCC is in effect offering a seal of respectability to the

donor or financing countries who would otherwise be concerned about bilateral involvements or the existence or absence of formal links between individual states in southern Africa and the European Economic Community.

When SADCC was initiated, an early decision was to give priority to improving regional transport and communications. The schemes that were proposed and studied entailed costs of the order of \$2,500m. The progress report shows that \$647m. has already been allocated or committed. SADCC has proposed 119 projects in the sector: five are completed, 39 are under implementation, 44 are submitted for finance, seven are ready for submission, and a mere 24 are at the early preparatory stage. An instance of a project in the implementation phase is the railway between the Mozambican port of Nacala and Malawi, whose needs are served by the port. Rehabilitation of the entire line will cost a total of \$190m., but already work is beginning on a \$95m. dollar project for the section of nearly 200km. between Nacala

and Nampula. Typical is the sharing of the finance between several countries: France \$45m., Canada \$12m., Portugal \$27m. Mozambique \$11m. (although final investment contributions are still to be settled). Similarly in the industrial sector, 90 projects with a likely cost of more than \$1.500m. have been presented; potential backers have been found for 74 projects including substantial investment in synthetic textiles, fertiliser plants and paper mills.

SADCC presents its projects by sectors but the interdependence of the various sectors is inescapable. Some of the visitors to Maputo for the SADCC ministerial meetings and summit were taken to see Riopelle, one of Mozambique's main textile plants at Marracuene outside the capital. The plant which weaves imported synthetic yarns (and is shortly to put a yarn-spinning factory into production) has an output of some six million square metres of cloth a year (mainly dress, suit and curtain materials). About four-fifths of the production goes for export; Tanzania is the principal customer (and provides Mozambique with some cotton textiles). The visitors found the factory extensions filled with a stock of about a million metres in length of prepared cloth: 700,000 metres was destined for Tanzania, but there had been no cargo ship available since March and shipment was not due until August. Empty shelves in some Tanzanian shops reached back through the congested port of Dar-es-Salaam, to the Marracuene factory hunting for storage space. Meanwhile some of Mozambique's own ports are used at under half their installed capacity.

On the secretariat side, SADCC has so far escaped the dangers of a centralised bureaucracy. SADCC does now have in Arthur Blumeris, from Zimbabwe, an executive secretary. He took up his post in the Botswana capital, Gaborone, last October after long experience with the Economic Commission for Africa in Addis Ababa and in dealings with the EEC in Brussels. Mr. Blumeris works with a minimal staff from modest offices rented from the Botswana Christian Council.

Similar low-key operations are provided by member states with sectoral responsibilities, such as Mozambique for transport, Angola for energy and Zimbabwe for agriculture and food security.

SADCC is providing a framework through which substantial resources are being allocated for regional development. That part is SADCC's success story. What came through clearly in the recent summit was that there are new and serious factors that threaten the nine member states. The progress report prepared by the secretariat indicated three factors beyond SADCC's control: South Africa's direct aggression, the adverse effects of world recession on commodity prices and fluctuating exchange and interest rates, and the drought in the region in the past two years that has been one of the most severe on record.

The summit final communiqué noted a reduction in crop yields through drought that had a severe impact on the ability of member states to earn foreign exchange through exports, or even to produce food for the basic needs of their population.

On South African aggression (that has struck particularly against infrastructure in Mozambique and Angola), the region's leaders in their communiqué urged countries with influence on South Africa (by implication the western industrialised countries) to use that influence to check the aggression against SADCC member states "since it is clearly irrational for such countries to invest in regional infrastructure only to see such resources wasted by South African sabotage." Dr. Quett Masire, the President of Botswana and current chairman of SADCC, told journalists at the end of the summit that South African effort to destabilise the region "threatens our very existence — it is a matter of life and death." He had told the summit earlier: "We do not ask that anybody should go to war on our behalf; but we do ask in the name of peace that those who claim to be our friends should exercise those constraints which are within their power to force South Africa to desist from its actions."

INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

SADCC COUNTRIES' DEPENDENCE ON SOUTH AFRICA NOTED

Lisbon O DIABO in Portuguese 23 Aug 83 p 13

[Article by Matias Tenda]

[Text] The SADCC, or Southern African Development Coordination Conference, founded in April, 1980, by Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Malawi, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe, with the principle objective of reducing foreign economic dependence--primarily in relation to South Africa, has proven to be not only inoperative but demagogical.

This regional organization is increasingly dependent on foreign countries, and mainly South Africa. The heads of state of the member countries are the first to recognize that without the existence of this economic giant, their countries would never survive. All these countries suffer from a common problem: the lack of domestic skills, which thus causes the need to recruit foreign skills with the indispensable expenditure of enormous amounts of capital which they need so much.

Then, with planned, "made in the USSR" economies, they live with the risk of brutal nationalizations--this risk being characterized by the politicization of the decision-making process in negotiations, with all the drastic consequences being reflected in the respected economies--along with problems such as drought, famine, corruption, and many others. This impels these states to turn more and more not only to South Africa but also Western countries, for cooperation with socialist "brother countries" has proven to be ineffective, the most recent proof being the UNCTAD meeting.

However, the cold language of numbers is more enlightening. For example, in the fiscal year of 1982-1983, Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland received a total of 314 million rands proceeding from the Customs Union Agreement between these countries and the Republic of South Africa.

In June, 1980, South African gold and coal mines were a source of employment for 56,424 Mozambicans, 10,377 Zambians, 32,219 Malawians, 23,200 Batswana (citizens of Botswana), 140,746 immigrants from Lesotho, and 19,853 Swazi, costing the Republic of South Africa a total of 157 million dollars in salaries. This migratory manual labor force is a clear reflection of the political and economic instability of the SADCC member countries.

To have an idea of the economic stability which South Africa gives to its neighbors, consider the following:

- At the end of 1981, the South African Transportation Services announced investments in the order of 4 billion rands in new projects and the maintenance of already existing services. Included in these new projects is the construction of a new railroad line which will link Swaziland to the port of Durban and Richard Bay.

- Zambia, another SADCC country, whose main source of exchange capital lies in copper, processes more than 45 percent of its foreign trade through South African ports.

- In Mozambique's case, more than 50 percent of the exchange capital obtained comes through cooperation with South Africa.

Thus, it may be concluded that not only is the SADCC a utopia in its fight against economic dependence, but also that South Africa above all and Western nations constitute the only viable alternative for the solution to the economic problems of the nine member countries in the SADCC.

12353

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SADCC HAMPERED BY PAPER PROJECTS, AMBITIONS

Johannesburg SAF POSITION PAPER in English Jul 83

[Article by Dr D. A. S. Herbst]

[Text]

THE JULY SUMMIT of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) took place in predictable style, with the usual harsh denunciations of South Africa's "aggression" and more requests for increased international aid.

The summit was held in Maputo against the background of Africa's general economic plight, the devastating consequences of the drought and on-going world economic problems.

TERRORIST TRIO

Inevitable "observers" at the summit were southern Africa's terrorist trio — Swapo's Sam Nujoma, ANC's Oliver Tambo and PAC's John Pokela.

Wrote *The Natal Mercury* (July 14, 1983) about their presence:

The fact that they are all in the business of violence and promoting insurrection, and committed to seizing power through the barrel of a gun, was conveniently overlooked as the conference pleaded for help against South Africa's "armed and economic sabotage".

This is the popular terminology for South African retaliation against terrorism, and it fits in well with the overall air of unreality that pervades SADCC summits.

The summit underscored one of SADCC's major difficulties: it has a long way to go to accomplish its major objectives, namely to reduce its dependence on South Africa and to promote meaningful co-operation among its members as stated in its founding document adopted at the first summit in 1980 (see *Position Paper* 19, 1982).

The community of nine states is showing few signs of overcoming its teething problems. SADCC's area of interest and

ambitions is, on paper, growing unrealistically expansive. It appears that too many projects are envisaged, with inadequate planning and insufficient funds.

It would seem that there is an increasing problem as to how to activate and implement the increasing number of projects. Added to this are the emerging doubts as to whether SADCC countries, including the tiny secretariat in inconsequential Gaborone, have the capacity and know-how to take full advantage of the monetary and other assistance already pledged to them.

POTENTIAL

The paradox facing SADCC, apart from it becoming yet another talking place (of which Africa has more than enough) is that here leaders of some of the world's poorest countries, while agonising over the hardships of drought, food shortages and a global recession, are solemnly debating ways of cutting ties with their rich southern neighbour.

For within southern Africa there is the mineral, energy, transport and agricultural potential, as well as the technology, to make it one of the world's most prosperous regions. All that is lacking is the will to co-operate.

However, as Weisfelder has pointed out, the launching of SADCC was "... a logical outcome of the longstanding national liberation struggle in southern Africa and a means of building economic strength and political solidarity." (*South Africa International*, February 1982). In a

way SADCC can therefore be perceived as a consolidation phase for an increased attack on "racism" in the south.

This view was expressed at a news conference at the end of the Maputo summit by President Quett Masire of Botswana, Chairman of SADCC. He said that SADCC considered "South Africa's policy of aggression a matter of life and death. It threatens our very existence".

He appealed to all countries which invest in South Africa to "take this money out of the apartheid republic and invest it in SADCC".

Trade between SADCC members is not very significant although it is expected to expand. The community has refrained from formal arrangements for market integration, such as a free trade area, a customs union or a common market. Trade is encouraged on a selective basis. Transport, communications and energy are seen as the leading projects.

ENERGY PLANS

The energy programme, which is being co-ordinated by Angola, received considerable attention in Maputo although it is apparently not on a pledging agenda.

Canada, France, Belgium, the UK and Brazil have previously expressed interest in helping to set up an energy secretariat in Luanda and with studies for developing a petrochemical industry in Angola.

In the field of transport and communications major projects include improvements of port facilities in Maputo, Beira, Nacala and several rail links.

SADCC has drawn up formidable programmes involving huge amounts and Western expertise. Although theoretically encouraging it is discouraging that only 27 per cent of the \$2.5 billion pledged since the 1980 conference has been obtained for the planned projects.

EFFECTS OF DROUGHT

The drought in southern Africa was a dominant subject in Maputo. A communiqué issued at the end of the conference mentions that the 1982/83 agricultural season witnessed one of the worst droughts in living memory and the loss of crops has affected dramatically the ability of SADCC members to meet the food needs of the people, and to earn foreign exchange through exports.

Production, warns the communiqué, cannot possibly provide the basic food necessary for many people in the rural areas to subsist until the 1984 harvest.

More terrifying still is the threat that even this harvest may be devastated by drought.

Zimbabwe, where the drought has been described as the "biggest single national disaster of the century", is co-ordinating SADCC's drought combat programme. A preliminary estimate of the needs puts the money required in excess of \$230 million, says the communiqué.

In normal times South Africa and Zimbabwe are able to export food to other African countries and the rest of the world. This year these two major food producers in Africa are importing foodstuffs.

In fact, South Africa is importing maize for the first time in more than thirty years and Zimbabwe is harvesting a crop equal to one quarter of its production three years ago. The maize harvest will be 600 000 tons, 400 000 tons short of what is needed to feed the people. However, stockpiles from previous years are expected to cover part of the shortfall.

EMERGENCY FOOD

The Star Foreign News Service reported on July 7 that at least ten million people in five southern African countries, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, will need emergency food aid if they are to survive the winter.

The report says:

Estimates of the number of people, mainly subsistence farmers, who will have to be fed by the government, vary from three to five million out of Zimbabwe's total population of 7.5 million.

Neighbouring Mozambique has no such surplus to cushion the tragedy in its rural areas.

At special briefings government ministers have pleaded with Maputo-based diplomats for massive amounts of aid to save about four million people from starvation.

Mozambican officials say the drought is the worst in their country's history and, if the rains do not come in October, the country will be in "very serious trouble".

In Botswana about half the population of about one million are already receiving emergency food rations while thousands of cattle are being slaughtered before they die of starvation or thirst.

Food is being distributed to 430 000 villagers in Lesotho, about a third of the kingdom's population.

Early this year the Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, appealed to the international community for help. But he was astute enough to wait until Taiwan had shipped 1 000 tons of white maize before establishing diplomatic relations with the rival Red Chinese.

The World Food Programme plans to distribute nearly 4 500 tons of emergency food to 108 000 Swazis over the next two months.

Taiwan bought nearly 1 000 tons of maize, worth more than R1 million, from South Africa as a gift for Swaziland.

Most experts say the drought is far worse than the Sahelian drought which caused the death of 5 million people in sub-Saharan Africa in the early 1970s. But one of the factors that makes the current situation different from past droughts, is that an unusually vast area is affected. In southern Africa it is regarded as the worst in 100 years.

While South Africa, having a strong and sophisticated economy can face the drought problem by itself, its neighbours are experiencing serious economic difficulties.

This is why SADCC members have to rely on international aid. The summit appealed to all SADCC's international partners "to examine the urgency of the region's needs and to respond without delay".

RECESSION

The summit also noted that the drought "coincides with the deepest recession the world has experienced in the past fifty years". Industrial development in the region "has been crippled partly as a result of short-sighted economic policies of the developed world".

SADCC countries are of course not isolated in their economic problems. The continent's economic plight has once again come under scrutiny in the latest report by the World Bank.

The Bank says that living standards among the poor countries of Africa, including some where the average citizen makes only the equivalent of one dollar a day or less, declined still further last year. Among the countries where incomes declined were Kenya, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, Angola, Zaire, Burundi, Upper Volta, Niger, Tanzania and Sierra Leone.

The Bank has forecast that most Third World countries will be expanding again in the ten years from 1985 to 1995. How-

ever, growth will depend on increased public and private sector financing, along with reduced protectionism. Another factor will be significant efforts by the developing countries themselves to make better use of their resources.

GROWTH RATE

The Bank assumes an annual growth rate of 5.7 per cent in the more advanced of the developing nations, while the poorer countries of Asia may achieve 4.9 per cent and those of Africa 3.3 per cent.

Two of Africa's leading economists recently stated that the prospects for the continent remained grim. The President of the African Development Bank, Mr Wila Mung'omba, says the continent's economy has been sliding since 1970, but has stayed afloat because of relative prosperity in the industrialised world and Western generosity in aid. The Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, Mr Adebayo Adedeji, says that even if there is a recovery among the industrialised nations, the prospects for the African economy are far from bright.

In its 1983 report the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) says Africa is the only continent where food production has failed to keep up with population growth. At the same time, nearly half of the African workforce is unemployed or under-employed, and the continent has almost a third of the world's refugee population.

SENTIMENTS

When it comes to financial aid Third World countries — and SADCC states are no exception — seem to know only too well how to exploit the sentiments of the West, their traditional money lender, often for lost causes.

Having presented more than a hundred projects to some 32 sponsors — countries and organisations — after four years very little has materialised from these projects, in spite of regular "progress reports".

South Africa's "armed and economic sabotage" remains a convenient scapegoat for the inability to transform paper projects into reality on the sub-continent.

As a French senator, Mr Paul d'Ornano, recently wrote:

If no roads, no railways have been built; if agriculture, health, telecommunications, port installations, have not got beyond the 'project' stage; if the infrastructure inherited from colonial days continues to dis-

integrate; in brief, if the countries concerned continue to go rapidly downhill, it is not because of the chronic incompetence of their respective governments, but because of the subversive activity of the RSA and ill humour of the gods! (*Courrier Austral Parlementaire*, No 5, 1983, p 6.)

The Natal Mercury says:

But as long as 'donor' countries are prepared to waste their money on the counter-productive causes of Black leaders who are more committed to political ideologies than to the basic needs of their burgeoning peoples, southern Africa will remain at odds with itself. The poor will get poorer, and the hungry will get hungrier.

A recent report in the Tanzanian government newspaper, the *Daily News*, illustrates the inability of some African countries to cater for the basic needs of the people.

WHEAT TO ROT

The report says that more than 9 000 tons of freshly harvested wheat in Tanzania has been left to rot in the open because of a lack of transport to deliver the grain to storage depots.

The paper says bags of wheat in the Arusha region are in danger of being spoilt because the rainy season has begun. Earlier this year the Tanzanian government announced that about two million people in northern Tanzania were in danger of starving because of drought.

Simultaneously Tanzania announced plans to become self-sufficient in food by 1990 as part of a three-phase \$116.5 million national food strategy to be completed by the year 2000. The Tanzanian Minister of Agriculture, Mr John Machunda, told Parliament in Dar es Salaam that maize production would be increased from 1.7 million tons in 1980 to 3.5 million tons, millet from 511 000 tons to 945 000 tons and wheat from 87 000 tons to 393 000 tons. Plans are also underway to raise production of cotton, coffee, tea, sisal, cashewnuts, tobacco and pyrethrum to the levels of the 1970s.

Similar plans in the past have failed due to President Julius Nyerere's sad attempt at "African socialism" through his *Ujamaa* (brotherhood villages) concept.

HUMANISM

And in Zambia, under President Kuanda's "humanism", about 20 white farmers produce 80 per cent of all the

country's commercially marketed food.

What SADCC countries could fruitfully note is that rhetoric, however brave, does not fill empty stomachs.

Vital trade links with South Africa are opportunely overlooked because political expedience gains the upperhand. Silence is maintained on the 40 countries that trade with South Africa — trade which between 1978 and 1980 more than doubled.

The reason for the expanded trade is that South Africa possesses the most efficient harbours in Africa and runs 75 per cent of the rail network on the sub-continent.

In the field of transport alone more than half of Zambia's copper exports go through South African ports. The same goes for Zaire (not a SADCC member), and 90 per cent of Zimbabwe's imports and exports pass through South Africa. Goods railed to and from Botswana, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Zaire, Mozambique and Swaziland had increased from about 8.3 million tons in 1979/80 to more than 9.4 million tons in 1980/81.

PROSPERITY

The launching of SADCC in 1979 resulted in two separate but overlapping economic blocs in southern Africa (see *Position Paper* 19, 1982).

As Safto's chief executive Wim Holtes has pointed out there is a danger that the different levels of prosperity between the two communities could become more significant as a dividing factor. Because of the different development stages of the two blocs, there is a clear difference of emphasis emerging between them. (*Safto Exporter*, September 1982).

South Africa's foreign trade is based mainly on private sector growth with any aid programmes also being linked to private business. In SADCC, though, development is based mainly on foreign government aid initiated by the recipient governments; trade flows are expected to emerge eventually in the private sector as a result of infrastructural and primary sector expansion.

On the specific question of trade between the two blocs, Holtes believes that SADCC countries should continue to recognise South Africa's important role as a supplier. "South Africa not only provides emergency requirements but is above all a competitive supply source against which offers from all other foreign suppliers can be compared."

TRADE REALITY

The message in the southern African context is clear: economic inter-depend-

dence of the region's countries remains a reality in which trade is the common denominator.

With the prospect of foreign aid pledges not being fulfilled, the key to improved economic performance lies in realistic planning and co-operation with the south to an ever increasing extent.

SADCC could only benefit from a redefinition of South Africa's position in southern Africa. These countries would do well to give heed to the views expressed by Simon Jenkins, one of the most eminent political journalists in Britain, in the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* (July 17, 1983, p 21):

It (the new South African philosophy) states that South Africa is wealthy, comparatively stable and capable of exerting considerable power beyond its borders.

As the black states of southern Africa discover that marxism means poverty and chaos, so South Africa emerges from the laager of diplomatic apologetics and stands revealed as a subcontinental super-power.

Long seen as the pariah of the Commonwealth, the guilty conscience of the West, the ogre of liberalism the world over, Pretoria has been able to narrow its vision to the purely regional.

Its economy towers over southern Africa. It has a third of its population but three-quarters of the gross product.

Even its blacks (homelands and all) are richer by two or three times than those in the black states.

• The summit confirmed that the next donors' conference will be held in Lusaka in November or December. It also drew up a schedule of SADCC meetings for 1984. There will be a Council of Ministers meeting in Malawi in May, the next summit will be held in Botswana in July, and the 1984 donors' conference will take place in Swaziland in November.

July, 1983

CSO: 3400/1933

BRIEFS

STUDENTS END COURSES IN CUBA--A group of African students, including some Angolans, which recently ended their courses in Cuba, thanked Cuban authorities for the opportunity to graduate in various areas of specialization. During a friendly meeting held at the Cuban Institute for Friendship with Peoples, a Sao Tomian student, speaking for all, read a message of satisfaction and thanks to Cuban authorities, especially head of state Fidel Castro, for the excellent hospitality shown toward the students. At the meeting were graduating students from Angola, Mozambique, the Congo, Tanzania, Namibia, Benin, Sao Tome and Principe, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, and Mali. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 12 Aug 83 p 2]

CSO: 3442/334

INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION REVIEWED

Paris EUROPE OUTREMER in French No. 637-638, Feb-Mar 83 pp 28-31

[Article: "Industry: A Remarkable Expansion"]

[Text] Cameroonian industry has been undergoing remarkable expansion for many years. A great effort has been made to extend it or create new units.¹ Thus, during the "pre-Fifth Plan" period from 1976 to 1980, the annual rate of creation of industrial companies was on the order of 15 percent; the industrial sector's contribution to total Gross Domestic Product was about 19.4 percent on the average; and finally, industrial products brought in about 25 percent of total budget receipts.

On an overall level, one notes that the share of the secondary sector² in GNP has remained--and will remain--relatively small compared to that of the primary and tertiary sectors. Thus, for 1979-1980 the Plan indicates that it amounted to 24 percent, as against 35 percent for the primary sector and 41 percent for the tertiary. For 1980-1981, the analysis by the National Investment Co (SNI) indicates that industry's proportion had increased, reaching CFAF 404.6 billion, or 27.4 percent of GNP (as against 33.6 percent for the primary sector and 39 percent for the tertiary). As a particularly dynamic sector in the area of employment, and an essential one for economic independence, and especially in the area of financial contribution, it has been favored by the Cameroonian authorities, who have made it, to some extent, the spearhead of their Fifth Development Plan. Thus the public authorities envision for this sector an average annual increase on the order of 13.5 percent within the framework of GNP, as against 5 percent for the primary sector and 4.7 percent for the tertiary sector (see our article on the Fifth Plan). The structure of the GNP should, consequently, be modified in 1986 to achieve the following results:

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1. In 1981-1982, importation of industrial equipment goods exceeded CFAF 8.8 billion.
 2. The secondary sector comprises the manufacturing industries, the extractive industries, construction and public works, water, gas, electricity.

--primary: 31 percent (-4 points);
--secondary: 33 percent (+ 9 points);
--tertiary: 36 percent (-5 points).

In order to do this, the investments in the secondary sector will have to reach CFAF 372.2 billion during the 5-year period, or 18.4 percent of the total package. The industry-crafts-PMF [expansion unknown] sector, for its part, will get CFAF 184 billion, and Mines-Energy, 193.2 billion.

The initial statistical results for 1981-1982, coming from different sources, seem to indicate that on a general level, progress is satisfactory. Thus the turnover of the firms affiliated with Syndustriam, which groups the main part of the country's industrial companies (except for the agroindustrial complexes), came to CFAF 322 billion in 1981-1982, as against 265 billion for the preceding financial year, thus registering an increase of 21 percent in nominal value. Exports (not including taxes) reached CFAF 71 billion, and local sales, 220 billion not including taxes (taxes rose by 12 percent and totaled CFAF 31 billion in 1981-1982). This increase is explained by the rise in sales of aluminum, paper pulp, cotton and textile products.

The personnel employed in this sector--again, according to Syndustriam--numbered 33,407 in 1982 as against 31,197 at 31 June 1981, for an increase of 7 percent, whereas the increase between the 2 preceding financial years was only 1 percent. As for wages paid, they totaled CFAF 35 billion as against 29.6 billion the preceding year--an increase of 18 percent.

In its annual report, the National Investment Co (SNI), which controls 25 industrial companies in different branches, also reports an increase in turnover, but in distinctly higher proportions: it rose by 61.3 percent, going from CFAF 172.9 billion in 1980-1981 to 278.9 billion in 1981-1982. Nevertheless, each branch evolved in a contrasting manner, and the financial results are very different. Certain enterprises experienced difficulties because of parameters that they could not control: fluctuation of the raw-materials prices in the international markets, fierce competition, selling prices imposed by the authorities, etc.

We present all of the Cameroonian industrial companies here (there are about a hundred of them), but we shall give a current report on the most important firms branch by branch, leaving aside the wood industry, the agroindustrial complexes, energy and oil, which are dealt with in different articles.

Food, Beverages, Tobacco

The food industries easily head the list of all the manufacturing industries in terms of turnover. There are six breweries, four of which belong to the Breweries Company of Cameroon (SABC). Its activity in 1981-1982 comprised sales of 2.466 million hl [hectoliters] of beer, up 9.8 percent (as against 17.1 percent in 1980-1981), and 872,000 hl of carbonated beverages, up 8.1 percent (+5.7 percent in 1981-1981). It achieved a turnover of CFAF 55.5 billion in 1981-1982, as against 47.2 billion the preceding financial year. The SABC, which is operating at its maximum capacity, is going to continue its in-

vestment efforts (CFAF 3.7 billion in 1981-1982). However, contrary to the decision in principle to establish a new brewery in the Limbe region, it is now planned to modernize all of the existing units and increase their capacities. Financing of the program will be ensured partly by the CFAF 287-million increase in capital carried out in June 1982 (CFAF 4.592 billion).

Sic-Cacaos, of the Barry group, which processes cacao in its Douala and Yaounde mills, closed its doors for 6 months and was able to resume its activities only by virtue of the establishment of a recovery plan. Chococam chocolate, confectionery), of the same group, will now be responsible for management of it. This latter company achieved a total turnover of CFAF 6.3 billion in 1981-1982. In 1981-1982, the Societe Camerounaise de Minoterie (SCM) started up some new installations that have raised its milling capacity from 60,000 to 100,000 t of wheat per year. Production in 1981-1982 was 61,665 t. Forecast for 1983: 85,000 t. Nevertheless, it is experiencing some difficulties in the face of the uncontrolled imports of flour (90,000 t imported vis-a-vis consumption of 120,000 t per year, or a surplus of 70,000 t over the demand [as published]). It plans to build some port silos during the period 1983-1985. The Societe J. Bastos, Central Africa's only manufacturer of tobacco and cigarettes, produced 80.7 million packs of cigarettes in 1980-1981. The investments planned for 1981-1982 totaled CFAF 200 million.

We mention the creation of a milk industry in Cameroon--the Milky Way Co (capital, CFAF 500 million: 94-percent Cameroonian, 6-percent France Lait), whose plant will produce only sweetened concentrated milk. The plant was completed in May 1982.

Textiles, Garment Industry, Footwear and Leathers

The overall situation of the textiles and garment-industry sector deteriorated during the 1981-1982 financial year. It registered an overall loss of CFAF 1.289 billion. The results of Cotonniere Industrielle du Cameroun (CICAM) show a sharp deterioration. This trend is explained by the constant increase in manufacturing costs (raw materials linked to the dollar), the weight of the subsidiaries and the aging of the equipment. A modernization program is under study. The Societe Camerounaise pour la Fabrication des Tissus Synthetiques (SYNTECAM) had good results, with turnover up 45 percent (CFAF 1.6 billion), resulting from a considerable increase in activity. In contrast, the Societe Textile du Cameroun pour le Linge de Maison (SOLICAM), which is in its second year of operation, reports sizable financial losses and is experiencing numerous difficulties on the technical and commercial levels. We note the creation, at the beginning of 1983, of the Societe Cameroun-Textiles (CAMTEX), which is to set up at Maroua a complex with capacity of 2,700 t of fabrics per year. Investments: about CFAF 13 million.

As was the case in the preceding years, the Societe des Tanneries et Peausseries du Cameroun (STPC), installed in the Ngaoundere region, experienced sizable financial losses despite a slight upswing in the international market. Continuance of the activities of that company, opened in 1978, depends on the will of the government, which could take over its external debt and provide it with annual financial support.

Despite the new upswing in imports of footwear and the slowdown in its activities, Bata remains a company that is holding its own well. For 1981-1982, its production was up 17 percent, and the expansion of its sales has held up in terms of quantity as well as in value. Its turnover was up by 20.8 percent, and profits by 83 percent.

Construction Materials, Chemicals

Cimenteries du Cameroun (CIMENCAM) meets all of the country's needs for ordinary cement. Production, which rose from 51,000 tons in 1971 to more than 500,000 tons in 1979-1980, dropped slightly the following year. The decrease was due to a slowdown in big works projects and the absence of new big construction projects like those that have recently been completed (Song-Loulou, Sonara, Cellucam, extension of the port of Douala). But as of the 1981-1982 financial year, there was an upswing in production again, and it reached 519,000 t (as against 490,000 t in 1980-1981). The outlets have been ensured in the domestic market (CFAF 14 billion) and for export to Chad (CFAF 71 million). The raw materials are imported from France (420,000 t of clinker) and from Morocco (30,000 t of gypsum). Fulfillment of the Cimencam IV project, designed to increase the capacity of the Bonaberi plant to 850,000 t in 1982-1983, then to 1.25 million t, and that of the Figuil plant to 100,000 t, is practically completed (cost of the operation: CFAF 7.5 billion).

Ceramiques Industrielles du Cameroun (CERICAM), which went into operation in 1979, is experiencing many difficulties and has reduced its activity considerably. It has barely avoided financial asphyxiation by virtue of an advance of CFAF 500 million granted by the government.

The chemical industries are numerous and diversified. The Societe Camerounaise des Engrais (SOCAME), which had been restructured for a total of CFAF 1.5 billion and had started up again in 1980, halted its activities during the financial year 1981-1982 because of a structurally deficit operation and lack of financial resources. The Complexe Chimique Camerounaise (CCC) experienced steady annual growth of 10 to 15 percent for several years, and 25 percent in 1981-1982: CFAF 9.5 billion in turnover as against 7.6 billion in the preceding year. It is Cameroon's biggest soap works, with capacity of 28,000 tons, but its 1981-1982 production was no more than 21,000 t. Equipped with a detergent-manufacturing unit with capacity of 6,000 t, it produced 2,000 t of lye and other detergents under license. It also tritulates 15,000 to 20,000 tons of palmetto, and obtained 2.21 million liters of palm-nut oil during the last financial year. This company continues to invest regularly: CFAF 180 million in 1980-1981, 95 million in 1981-1982. The CCC has 65 to 70 percent of the local market and exports 30 percent of its production to the countries of the UDEAC [Customs and Economic Union of Central Africa]. We mention also the Societe de Fabrication de Parfumerie du Cameroun (12.5 million bottles of perfume and cosmetics in 1981-1982); the Compagnie Equatoriale des Peintures (5,200 t of paints, varnishes and miscellaneous coverings in 1981-1982), which has recently built an extremely modern production unit (16,000 m²) at Douala and which plans to increase its production capacity by 10 percent per year; the Societe Camerounaise de Fabrication de Piles Electriques (167.5 million batteries in 1980-1981); and the Union Allumettiere Equatoriale (128,000 car-

tons and 1,440 boxes of matches in 1981-1982), which in 1982 planned to invest CFAF 200 million in the purchase of new machinery; etc.

Metallurgy, Mechanical Construction

The steady drop in the world prices for aluminum (on the order of around 30 percent), the increase in costs--especially of imported raw materials whose prices are quoted in dollars--the increased financial charges, etc, have placed Alucam in a strongly negative profitability situation, ending the financial year with a loss of CFAF 6.449 billion as against a net profit of CFAF 1 million in 1980-1981. Turnover, though, was up by 88 percent (31.2 billion), because of the fact that its capacity was raised from 45,000 t to 84,000 t per year. A financial-restructuring plan, involving, among other things, a CFAF 2.52-billion increase in capital, the hope of a revival of the world market, and an improvement in the technical performance of the new installations lead one to hope for a rapid recovery.

In 1981-1982, the Societe de Constructions Metalliques Camerounaises (SOCOMECAM) produced 330 dump trucks, 45 panel bodies and vans, 4 semitrailers, 40 tank trucks and several thousand tons of framing and boilerwork. Its turnover was CFAF 1.708 billion in 1981-1982. The Societe Camerounaise des Anciens Etablissements Joseph Paris (SOCAPAR), which operates at Douala-Bassa a mill with a capacity of 1,200 t of metal framing and 600 t of boilerwork per year, had a turnover of CFAF 834 million in 1981-1982. The investments planned for 1982-1983 represent CFAF 20 million (as against 12 million in 1981-1982).

New Company and Projects

The increase in oil-drilling has led an American company, Milchem Incorporated, one of the world's leading companies specializing in the crushing of ores for oil exploitation, to take an interest in Cameroon. Created in 1982, the SA de Broyage de Minerai du Cameroun (SABMC), with capital of CFAF 650 million divided between the Cameroonian state (35 percent) and the Milchem group (65 percent), has built a mill with capacity of 50,000 t per year (specially imported earths and clays), which it is planned to double around 1984. The investment comes to CFAF 1.865 billion.

As regards the big development projects, the Ministry of the Plan has cited Cameroon's industrial choices on several occasions: intensification of the policy of transformation of raw materials of local origin, promotion of heavy industry "taking into account the existence of abundant and low-cost energy and varied mineral resources," creation of small and medium-size firms and industrial decentralization by means of appropriate incentive measures, and creation of competitive-scale industries aimed at exportation. Specifically, the four sectors on which this industrialization will be based are the following:

- steel, on the basis of the iron reserves known or to be discovered;
- transformation of bauxite and aluminum;
- transformation of wood;
- the hydrocarbons.

We mention that as regards the first two sectors named, Cameroon has iron deposits in the Kribi region whose reserves are said to be on the order of 200 million t, including 120 million t of ore with an average content of 38.5 percent iron. The investments for the creation of a processing mill with capacity of 3 million t of pellets per year were estimated in 1976 at around CFAF 60 billion.

On the other hand, mining of the bauxite deposits of Adamaoua (Minim-Martap), whose reserves are said to be 1.2 billion tons of ore, is envisioned for later. Pechiney-Ugine-Kuhlmann proposed to the Cameroonian authorities in 1982 a new study involving a small-size aluminum mill with capacity of 1 to 2 million t per year. For production of 160,000 t of aluminum, Alucam would consume between 320,000 and 4000,000 tons of it, and the rest--from 600,000 t to 1.6 million t--would be exported [as published]. The mill would be installed either at the deposit or at Kribi. The project is linked to creation of the deep-water port and to development of the rail line.

11267

CSO: 3419/1189

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN POLITICAL CRISIS ANALYZED

Paris LE MONDE in French 24 Aug 83 p 1

[Editorial: "Crisis in Cameroon"]

[Excerpts] The conflict--latent for several weeks--between President Paul Biya and former president Ahidjo now seems to be an open one. The announcement by the chief of state, on 22 August, of the discovery of a plot against the "security of the republic" and the new ministerial shuffle that he has carried out express the climate of uneasiness and disquiet that prevails in Yaounde.

In a message to the nation, the chief of state has declared that "the national security services have apprehended a number of individuals whose mission was to injure the security of the united Republic." According to certain sources, the "individuals" in question are two persons faithful to Mr Biya's predecessor: Major Ibrahim, former senior officer in the presidential palace, and Captain Salatou, former bodyguard of President Ahidjo.

The ministerial shuffle--the third since Mr Biya came to power in November 1982 after the resignation of President Ahidjo, involves the posts of prime minister and minister of the armed forces. These two posts were held at the time by Mr Bello Bouba and Mr Abdoulaye Maikano, considered as very close to the former president. Mr Bello Bouba's post will be taken on an acting basis by Mr Ayang, who retains his functions as minister of stock-raising, fishing and animal industries, while Mr Maikano will be replaced by Mr Tsoungui, formerly minister of state responsible for agriculture.

Mr Biya has justified this shuffle by declaring that "it is indispensable, now more than ever, for the governmental team to be more solidly united and better-oriented toward the objectives defined by the president of the republic, chief of state and head of government."

In solemnly citing his functions, Mr Biya doubtlessly wishes to indicate to the political class once again the primacy of the state over the single party, the Cameroonian National Union, in the conduct of affairs. This quarrel in which he is pitted against Mr Ahidjo, who has remained president of the party, has been poisoning the country's political life for several months. While Mr Biya seems, for now, to be scoring points against his predecessor, who remains

strangely silent, it may be thought that Mr Ahidjo's friends are not acting completely on their own.

Mr Biya, who comes from a small ethnic group in the south of the country, has never been accepted by the northerners, of Moslem religion, who, through the intermediary of Mr Ahidjo, held the reins of power from independence on.

The repeated warnings by the former president, who did not hesitate last January to expel from the party four of his faithful whose attitude was judged contrary to unity, have not, it seems, calmed the ardor of an entourage that has not always understood why Mr Ahidjo gave up his office.

The clumsiness of those close to Mr Biya, who are pushing him to impose himself faster at the head of the government on which the retired man of Garoua still casts his shadow, have not facilitated the succession. The last ministerial shuffle, carried out abruptly on the eve of the arrival of Mr Mitterrand last June, had already taken on the appearance of a veritable coup de force, with certain persons not hesitating to speak of a "declaration of war" in the north. Wasn't it already being said that he would intervene when a coup d'etat was under way?

Mr Biya's room for maneuver seems to be narrowing strangely, and, 15 years after a murderous civil war, Cameroon again seems tempted by the demons of a tribalism that President Ahidjo's authority had been capable of subduing.

11267

CSO: 3419/1189

MINISTER BLAMES IFM FOR THIRD WORLD ECONOMIC WOES

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 12 Jul 83 pp 1, 6, 8

[Text] The Minister of Lands, Mines and Energy, Dr. Fodee Kromah, says the International Monetary Fund - brainchild of the U.S. - "has emerged as the West's chief ambassador for intimidating the Third World into restructuring their economic policies."

"As the cleaning house for lending by banks, governments and other financial institutions, including the World Bank, its programme of economic stabilization spells austerity for the mass population, Dr. Kromah says.

He was delivering the keynote address yesterday on the campus of the University of Liberia in Monrovia to marking the opening of a 12-day workshop on Regulating and Negotiating with Transnational Corporations in the Mineral and Petroleum Sectors.

Dr. Kromah pointed out that "IMF measures are designed to entice foreign investment; so-called luxury humane programmes like food and education subsidies are dismantled, wages are kept down, and harsh repression is often needed to carry out a forced cut in already meager living standards and redirect resources to the export or business sectors which are foreign owned and controlled."

The Minister said the economies of most countries are dwarfed by the economic power of the largest corporations and banks, noting that "yet, history shows that every effective international system requires a custodian."

As a result, he said the supereconomies of the North Atlantic empires including West Germany and Japan, became what he referred to as the custodians of the multinational corporations, in the form of a collective management under the tutelage of the U.S.

Overriding Concern

He added: "The overriding concern of these nations is to control the largest shares of world trade and finance, and remain the vital center of management, finance and technology for the global economy, thereby embracing and coopting the Third World, and gradually reintegrating the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and China in the corporate lingo."

Minister Kromah told the participants that the global corporation is most at home in a profit haven, "a nation where politicians are obliging, labor is cheap and disciplined, tax breaks and tax holidays are plentiful, and there are little or no governmental regulations, an absence of competition, ready supply of local credit and sustained political stability."

He said throughout the world, there is a repeated relation between profit return and political repression, citing the case of apartheid in South Africa as an illustrative point.

"A nation needs not institute nationalization and revolution to make a corporation pack up and leave. Just introduce higher wage bills, taxes, and other profit ceiling," the Minister added.

Rich and Poor

He noted that corporate controlled economic growth operates according to the "law of uneven development." As a result, he said, the gap between rich and poor countries widens, laborers and farmers become increasingly impoverished due to rising national income and a narrow stratum which are enriched at the top.

Minister Kromah pointed out that "our Finance Minister and Budget Director know more about how the IMF has succeeded in regulating our economic policy," adding that "this is not only true for Liberia but for all developing countries."

Protectionist Role

Dr. Kromah also deplored the "protectionist role and the unfair business practices" instituted by the transnational corporations in developing countries.

He said the so-called transnational corporations have continued to be the "creed of an international ruling class whose locus of power is the global corporations."

The owners and managers of these global corporations, he pointed out, "view the entire world as their factory, farm, supermarket and playground."

The Minister said the transnational corporations have not only monopolized the production of useful daily consumer commodities such as food and energy, but also controlled vast amount of world's natural resources and dominated the research and development of new technology.

He also criticized "the run away" attitude of transnational corporations from one developing country to another in times of economic hardship simply to reap maximum profit, citing the recent corporate behaviour of Firestone, Lamco, Bong Mines and B. F. Goodrich as indicative of global corporate relocation or withdrawal in times of hardships.

The workshops, organized by the Ministry of Lands, Mines and Energy, in cooperation with the U.N. Center on Transnational Corporation, the UNDP office in Liberia, and the University of Liberia, is aimed at providing senior level government officials with relevant information in negotiating at the transnational corporation level.

CSO: 3400/1884

CLERGY COMES OUT AGAINST PROPOSED ELECTION DAY

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 18 Aug 83 p 3

[Text] The National United Ministers' Alliance of Liberia has presented a position statement to the National Constitutional Advisory Assembly currently convening in Gbarnga.

In the statement, the ministers called for a change in the day (Sunday) proposed for national election in the draft constitution.

According to chapter 3, Article 86 (A) of the draft constitution, general elections are to be held on the second Sunday in October.

The minister's alliance observed that changing the day for national election from Tuesday to Sunday meant an encroachment upon the rights of Christians to participate in the national elections.

The suspended constitution provided for the holding of national elections on Tuesday.

The alliance further observed that the change in the day aside for national elections could also give "undue advantage to one religious group over the other".

The statement, read by Rev. D. Truman Barclay, director of religious education at the Monrovia Consolidated School System (MCSS), said if Article 86 (A) and (B) are retained in the draft constitution, "this could sow seeds of national disunity and cause a religious feud in next republic".

The minister's alliance then appealed to the advisory assembly to change the national election day from the second Sunday in October to a "non-religious or normal working day" in an effort to ensure peace and stability in the land.

The statement was presented to the chairman of the assembly Tuesday by a two-man delegation led by Rev. Raymond Koffa, secretary general of the ministers' alliance.

However, on the provision in the draft constitution that religious leader cannot hold political office while at the same time serving as religious

leader, the clergymen concurred, and said it would be a conflict of interest and unethical Christian practice for any religious leader to hold a high political office while at the same time serving as a religious leader.

They argued that religious or spiritual leader should serve the church and forget about worldly things, noting that "no man can serve two masters."

The clergymen then suggested that Christian churches formulate rules that would make it mandatory for any religious leader wishing to hold public office to first resign his post in the church.

CSO: 3400/1885

EXECUTIVE ARTICLES TO CONSTITUTION EXAMINED

Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 31 Aug 83 p 4

[Article by Arif B. Assaf in the column "The Great Debate Continues": "Local Government: The Road To Political Maturity"]

[Text]

We must now ask the question just how democratic our nation intends to be, and at what level it intends democracy to be practised whether it be at both the local and national levels or just at the latter.

I ask this question in respect to chapter VI (The Executive) article 56(d) and article 57(a)(b), with these respective sections concerning the appointment and supervision of the Superintendents of the counties of Liberia.

Article 56(d) states: The president shall nominate and, with the consent of the Senate appoint all superintendents of counties from a list submitted to him by committees of County Leaders. Article 57(a)(b) then goes on to state how the committee of county leaders shall be formed and the duties and responsibilities of both the superintendent and the committee.

In essence, what article 57(a)(b) does is to create supervisory body over the superintendent with the authority to recommend his removal.

What therefore may not be

clear to most people is that a local Government apparatus has been created in which the elected representative can be effective at county levels. The very fact that legislative constituency within the counties, shall be represented by one person per constituency, through the ballot box, should I feel also apply to the selection of a superintendent, thus creating truly a democratic process at the local level. I made this point because of the following advantages to the growth of political maturity.

1. As party politics will start to play a key role within the nation, starting 1984, we must also expect it to proceed to the grassroot level of this country. It is only reasonable therefore, to expect that local party branches set up within those counties, would put forward candidates for election to the county leaders' committee.

In this regard, names presented to the President for county superintendent, may indeed be only that of party nominees, capable persons unwilling to join either parties but prepared to serve their counties, would be excluded; however elections for the position would I feel present the best of both worlds, i.e. party nominees and independent candidates, with the electorate given the right to decide who leads them.

2. An elected superintendent would therefore be free of Presidential patronage, and able to pursue a development program best suited to his county with the funds allocated to it.

The added bonus of a committee to assist the Superintendent goes a long way in bringing into being a local body dealing with local issues and strategies.

Given the above, one must clarify here that no intention of creating a separate Legislative organ is envisaged. The Superintendent's powers and job description would be as is presently authorized.

The authority of the Ministry of Internal Affairs would be only to see that superintendents do not overstep their bounds.

The removal of all superintendents must therefore be by either the courts (criminal indictment) or the ballot box, but at no

time should the President either directly or through the County Leaders committee's recommendation have the right to dismiss an elected official. Why should this be?

We in Liberia are painfully aware of the deviousness of politicians of the past and the jealousies of the local officials of the counties. We cannot expect everything to go smoothly with the superintendent's office and that of the county leaders nor indeed, with segments of the local electorates, thus recommendation for his removal could come about by pressure groups within these segments without a fair hearing or indeed a fair period of time to judge the Superintendent's policies.

Only a criminal felony would suffice to remove a Superintendent before his period of office has expired after which it must be through the ballot box.

Article 57(a)(b) gives no time period for the holding of office for both the superintendent and the county leader committee; may I suggest that the superintendent be for four years and the county leaders for two years, after which time both parties if wishing to seek re-election may do so again.

In doing this, local politics remains active and local politicians remain aware of their electorates and their

wishes, as well as their own election promises.

Greater Voice

We must in this country agree to give local government a greater voice within the administration of this country, we must begin to listen more to the wishes and development goals of the sub political regions, never must we forget that the local issues of the counties are what will elect our representatives for the House and the Senate, for to do so, clearly means an end to political ambitions.

The great majority of the people of this nation have much to speak about, much of it concerning their local areas and job problems, the airing of those views through local representatives on a regular basis will eventually lead to the entrenchment of true democratic spirit and political maturity.

The argument, that within a unitary system, a superintendent from one party and a president from another, might clash and therefore the latter might hold back necessary funds for the former's development plans, cannot I believe hold true. Article 8 of the general principles of national policy makes this kind of action unconstitutional and thus reversible.

CRISIS-RIDDEN TRANSPORTATION ISSUE REVIEWED

Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 31 Aug 83 p 4

[Editorial: "Overcoming Transport Problems"]

[Excerpt]

IN MAY OF this year a row broke out between the Federation of Transport Union of Liberia (FTUL) and the Ministry of Commerce over the 'First Come First Served' system at parking stations.

THE MINISTER OF Commerce reacted by suspending the system. However, this did not resolve the issue and the Head of State appointed an Executive Committee to examine the entire practice and make recommendations.

BASED UPON THE recommendation by the Committee headed by the Director General of the Cabinet, Mr. Wilton Sankawolo, the 'First Come First Served' system was re-introduced but with some modifications.

IN A MANDATE, Head of State Doe armed the Commerce Ministry with the power and authority to operate the first-come first-served scheme. He said that the funds from the operation should be used for the improvement of parking stations throughout the country.

SOMETHING SEEMS TO be lacking in the ability of the Transport Division of the Ministry of Commerce to come forth with any workable policy regarding transportation in the country. Transportation has become crisis-ridden and each time, it has required the direct intervention of the Head of State to quell the disturbance.

WHEN THE ROW broke out in the first instance and the Ministry could not come forward with any workable solution, the Head of State had to act by setting up an Executive Committee. This should have clearly indicated to those at the Ministry concerned with transportation that there was a growing lack of confidence in their ability to do their job, or to come forward with desirable plans which would bring about solutions to such problems. But even after the Head of State appointed an independent Committee to do what they should have done in the first instance, they still did nothing.

THE COMMITTEE CAME forward with a plan which was accepted by the Head of State and turned over to the

Commerce Ministry to implement, and again they have proved incapable of doing their job. They sat down and permitted the Transport Union to obstruct their operations. So again, the Head of State had to step in and arrest the situation by suspending the Union. .

TRANSPORTATION IS GROWING into a complex problem in this country. It is not limited to the availability of vehicles to transport people and goods from one place to another. It entails regulating the transport system to the benefit of travellers, carriers and in the interest of commerce.

THE MORE ROADS that are built in the country, the more people are expected to travel and the greater the volume of commerce. These will command government regulations not just in terms of setting transportation fares, standards, load and the like, but the time is coming when government will have to determine which vehicles should ply the highways as transport bus and which and where or how far a taxi should go. *

THE CONSTRUCTION OF bus terminals would have to be placed in the planning programme of the country. But how can these things come about when those in charge of Transport at the Ministry of Commerce seem not to be able to plan nor implement?

RECENTLY, THE OFFICIAL in charge of Transport at the Ministry was replaced and again last week, the Head of State made another change at the Commerce Ministry by shifting the Director General of the General Services Agency to the portfolio of Deputy Minister and sending the deputy minister to GSA.

THESE CHANGES ARE signs that the Head of State is trying to find a solution to the inertia which has gripped the Transport Section of the Commerce Ministry, and it is to be hoped that the confidence which he is reposing in these officials will prove themselves capable of unfolding plans that would set the nation on the correct development path in this revolutionary era.

PETROLEUM RESOURCES, PRODUCTION, POLICY REVIEWED

Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 30 Aug 83 p 7

[Article by Dr Miedi-Kimie Neufville: "A Glance at the Future Some Food for Thought"]

[Text]

For the past four to five years as Head of the Bureau of Hydrocarbon, Department of Mineral Exploration and Research, Ministry of Lands, Mines and Energy, and the principal coordinator of the Petroleum Exploration Project, many questions regarding outcome of the project are constantly thrown at me.

Some of these questions are found to be quite interesting while others could be considered just off the wall stuff.

We would like to state that irrespective of the nature and causes of these questions, one major observation made was that, the concern of most people to date could be characterized as falling under two general questions:

a. Do We Have Oil and if so,
b. When Will Production Start. Recognizing that both questions are legitimate and worth discussing notwithstanding, for the benefit of our friends, colleagues and well wishers, we would like to add to the subject a third dimension which in our opinion, warrants serious consideration.

If oil is found, our question is, what should be done with the oil.

The first two questions will be answered to the best of our knowledge while attempting to advance our views on the latter.

The views expressed on this latter question is for the purpose of discussion and should not be considered an accepted policy.

Do We Have Oil?

Liberia has a complex geological setting but geologists long knew that its structure might include petroleum or natural gas. Along and near the coast, in particular, the country possesses sedimentary rock formations similar to those eastward along the West African coast which have been found to contain exploitable hydrocarbon fuels.

The question, therefore, has not been whether Liberia has hydrocarbon resources. It has been whether these resources are rich enough, abundant enough, and easy enough to recover so that production is economically feasible.

Offshore, Liberia interests petroleum companies for several reasons. Current production in

West Africa is approximately 3 million barrels per day. Although most of this is in Nigeria, it is expected that the share represented by other countries in the region will increase due to the current rate of discoveries elsewhere.

Gabon's reserves, for example, have been estimated at greater than 500 million bbl, and interest is also being shown in its southern waters bordering the Congo.

Exploration activities in deeper offshore Gabonian waters are also being stepped up.

The Cameroon is producing oil currently, expecting to reach a peak of 80,000 b-d, sustainable for a number of years; it also has a sizeable reserve of natural gas.

Nearer Liberia, with similar offshore geology, is the Ivory Coast. There, a recently completed well is believed capable of producing up to 20,000 b-d, and the field is estimated at 500 million barrels or more. This supports predictions of offshore oil in Liberia.

Since the war between Iran and Iraq, the West African region has received greater attention from the major petroleum companies, partly due to export cuts from Iran — and perhaps partly because of concerns about possible further instabilities in the Middle East.

As a result, even in a time when the international market is soft, companies continue to show an interest in exploration rights.

Results of the Petroleum Exploration Project recently concluded shows clearly that Liberia has some Petroleum resources.

The offshore shelf and slope contain:

- a) Areas of thick sediments.
- b) Organic materials in those sediments.
- c) Individual sand intervals with fair to good porosities.

d) Potential structural and stratigraphic traps.

e) Hydrocarbon shows in the wells drilled to date.

Now if we consider the recent discovery of commercially exploitable reserves in the Ivory Coast and results obtained from the recent offshore study, it appears that Liberia's prospects could be fair to good for petroleum development activities before the end of the 1980's — and probably higher for such activities in the 1990's.

When Will Production Start

If it is assumed that Liberia does in fact have one or more petroleum reservoirs of large enough size to be commercially attractive, the main determinant of the pace of development will be world market conditions.

For a large oil company, exploration is a continuing activity, aimed at the long term; every company likes to have development rights to more petroleum than it is producing at any given time, in case demand should increase, political conditions should affect their access to oil from current sources, or current sources should become depleted.

It is not surprising, then, that several companies have shown some interest in exploration here.

Oversupply

Active development, however, is less likely as long as the world oil market shows an oversupply: falling prices, pressures for production cuts in the Middle East, etc.

As prices drop, producing petroleum from relatively small new reservoirs is less attractive economically than extracting it from large reservoirs already in service.

Most observers expect the current downward trend in world oil prices to reverse by the end of the decade, as the world economy recovers from the present slump; but such forecasts are obviously uncertain: i.e., political developments could lead to world oil scarcity much more quickly (spurring exploration and development in Liberia), or continued world economic problems could keep world oil demand depressed (reducing the prospects for early development of a Liberian petroleum resource). In this sense, some of the factors are beyond Liberia's control.

Fundamental Element

It goes without saying that a fundamental element of Liberia's energy policy is — and should be — an effort to encourage petroleum exploration and development under conditions that are fair and equitable for Liberia.

The outcome of this effort will shape the country's economy for decades to come; so reducing the present uncertainty about oil production prospects is a very high priority indeed.

This main issue is a much serious one; how to proceed if oil is discovered and both domestic oil resources and oil revenues become available to Liberia.

For example, a single well of the size of Ivory Coast's (20,000 bpd) would produce more than twice as much oil as the total that was refined per day by LPRC; and average revenue of, say, \$8 per barrel would amount to more than \$50 million a year.

Liberia's policy toward this resource could range anywhere between two extremes: from (a) using the oil and the revenues from oil production to develop rapidly into an oil-intensive

economy to (b) exporting nearly all of the oil to improve the country's balance of payments and using part of the revenues to develop alternative energy sources within the country.

Finding the appropriate balance between these extremes should largely be a matter of economics. If Liberia has other energy resources that can deliver the energy needed for socio-economic development cheaper than the price of the oil, it should use its revenues to develop those resources. If the oil is substantially cheaper, it should use the oil.

If the two approaches are approximately equal in cost, it probably makes sense to emphasize alternatives to oil, for three reasons:

- a) oil exports help the economy by improving the export balance;
- b) oil is a depletable resource; building an appetite for it means that difficult adjustments lie ahead; and
- c) developing the alternative sources can have benefits in skill training, infrastructure development, and rural development that support important non-energy national goals.

Policy Elements

On the basis of other parts of the Liberian energy assessment, it appears that Liberia's policy at this time should include the following elements:

- a) Reducing dependence on oil outside the transportation sector, wherever this can be done with cost savings.
- b) Exploring alternatives for using non-oil alternatives to meet transportation energy needs in

Liberia (e.g. palm oil derivatives).

c) Investing fees and other receipts from petroleum exploration in developing economically attractive renewable energy resources.

d) Developing a plan for the use of oil revenues, should substantial oil reserves be discovered. The key to this plan, we believe, should be a determination to invest these revenues in Liberia's future, not just to spend them for the present.

Many oil-producing countries have suffered from their failure to handle oil receipts in this manner. For instance, Nigeria — once self-sufficient in food production — today imports half of its food.

Mexico has been forced to borrow heavily to keep its economy reasonably stable, accepting painful stringencies as a condition for the loans. In both cases, the countries made the mistake of treating a large part of their oil revenues as operating funds rather than as investment funds.

By contrast, Cameroon and the Ivory Coast are moving carefully. Both countries are investing oil revenues in indigenous resources, energy and otherwise, and their economies are healthy at a time when other, bigger oil producers are facing serious problems.

Major Opportunity

Liberia's petroleum resource may offer the country a major opportunity, although the prospects for development and the timing of development are still uncertain.

This is the time to prepare to take advantage of this opportunity, should it arise.

Almost certainly, wise use of the revenues from oil development can enable Liberia to develop a strong, sustainable energy system. This could be based on renewable resources, and the development of a strong, sustainable economy, based on its wider range of indigenous resources — foremost of which are Liberia's human resources. But a failure to be prepared can mean that this opportunity will be largely wasted.

In addition, it is prudent — as a part of the nation's energy planning — to prepare for the contingency that oil will not be discovered in commercially developable quantities, or that it will not be developed for a decade or even two decades.

The risks are too great to assume that petroleum will be the answer, even though the prospects seem fairly good that it will be at least part of the answer. WHAT'S YOUR OPINION?

CAREFUL PLANNING, UTILIZATION OF ISRAELI AID URGED

Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 29 Aug 83 p 4

[Editorial: "Utilizing Israeli Aid"]

[Excerpts]

THE RENEWAL OF ties with Israel topped by the successful visit of the Head of State to Jerusalem has created an air of euphoria among many in the country.

THE PROMISE OF Israeli experts to Liberia to aid us in the development of agricultural and health programs, road building and airline rehabilitation appears to be justifiable reasons to bring about this feeling. After all, the materialization of these promises will serve as needed boosters to our development activities which have been lagging beneath the weight of world-wide inflation and recession.

WE NOW HAVE the opportunity to profit by the experiences of our previous dealings with Israel, and ask ourselves why some of the areas of cooperation undertaken between Liberia and Israel failed to sustain themselves.

ISRAEL AIDED US in the development of our national youth program; but its only lingering remnant today is a scaled-down version under the Ministry of Youth and Sports.

Through the aid of Israeli medical experts, Liberia had a well-equipped and ably-staffed Eye Clinic in Monrovia. It eventually collapsed and the one Israeli-trained Liberian specialist who served in that clinic later sought employment at the Firestone Medical Center near Monrovia.

THE ISRAELIS AIDED us in the development of our agricultural program and the construction of several buildings in Monrovia. The buildings still stand, but the other programs floundered after the experts pulled out.

WE SHOULD ASK ourselves today, how can this renewed relationship and cooperation help us in a more sustainable way in achieving our development goals.

THE ISRAELIS ARE coming; but they are not the answer to our problems. They will offer the know-how; in some instances, the material help and perhaps even little money and training facilities; but unless we demonstrate the will and enthusiasm, we would have failed again in learning the lesson.

WE SHOULD PRESENT them with positive plans and programs with a view towards setting up an infrastructure in agriculture, in road building and in health so that when they eventually pull out, these programs or areas of development would become self-sustaining.

THERE SHOULD BE selected a hardcore of Liberian understudies who will be prepared and capable of eventually taking over and running these programs.

LET US FIRSTLY bear in mind that the Israelis are not coming here to perpetuate their presence. Their objective is to aid us in and with our development priorities by offering economic assistance and trained manpower capabilities.

WE MUST MEET the challenge offered us by this renewed relationship by demonstrating a greater sense of dedication to the national interest and reshaping our goals to conform to our national development priorities so that we may benefit fully from this exercise in diplomacy.

CSO: 3400/1921

MINISTER RECOMMENDS MEASURES TO REVIVE ECONOMY

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 8 Aug 83 pp 1, 6

[Article by Napoleon A. Teage]

[Text] Two methods by which the Government of Liberia could improve its economic standing is by reducing expenditure and venturing into an aggressive agricultural campaign, Finance Minister Major G. Alvin Jones said yesterday.

Maj. Jones, in a statement reviewing the financial position of the nation, said expenditure control within government is now necessary more than ever before because of the depressed state of the economy.

Traditional foreign exchange earners (iron ore and rubber) Mr. Jones said, are almost valueless on the world market today, thus placing government in a financial chaos.

He said an alternative to the present liquidity problem could be the venturing into an aggressive agricultural scheme by government to direct the negative trend of the economy.

Mr. Jones said: "Perhaps one of the best-known facts about our present national circumstances is that we are experiencing grave economic and financial difficulties. The inability of government to meet the various expectations of the people is a direct result of this fact," the Minister observed.

Indebtedness

He said the three most important elements in the financial picture of the nation during the last three years (1980-83) have been the debt burden, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) supported stabilization programs and the financial assistance of friendly foreign governments.

"When the government of the People's Redemption Council came to power in 1980, total public sector indebtedness stood at around \$850 million of which some \$533 million was disbursed and outstanding."

He said bilateral source debt totaled \$229 million, multilateral source \$190 million, and commercial source debt netted \$114 million.

Mr. Jones named the U.S., West Germany, Sweden, the United Kingdom Japan, Norway and Italy as countries from which Liberia credited on a bilateral basis. "As has been pointed out several times before, a sizeable amount of the debt stock was high interest commercial debt contracted in the second half of the 1970's" He explained.

He continued: "The burden that the servicing of such debt would impose on the budget became very clear in the formulation of the 1980/81 fiscal year budget in the face of a stagnating revenue growth caused by the general weakness of the economy and the up surge in interest rates worldwide."

The avoidance of new commercial borrowings Mr. Jones said, was decided as one of the strong points in the stabilization programs arranged with the IMF by Liberia.

Debt Relief

"However, many officials who have direct responsibility for financial matters in public corporations and those who have sought government guarantees for new loans will attest to how rigidly the government has kept up this idea of not taking any short-maturity, high interest loans. As a result of this policy, decision, external borrowings of recent have totalled about \$42 million. These have been on soft terms only," Mr. Jones said.

He said interest charged between mid 1980 and the end of 1983 were estimated at \$129 million while principal payments over the same period were put at \$140 million. "That would have made a total debt service of \$269 million between April 1980 and the end of calendar 1983."

From April 1980 through the last fiscal year, Mr. Jones said the debt service payments necessary would have been about \$220 million. However, he said in order for government to reduce pressure on the budget it had to reschedule some of the debt payments.

Deferrals

"At two consecutive meetings of western-nation creditors of the Paris Club, the government obtained debt relief totalling \$45 million. That is to say payments of that magnitude which would have fallen due in the 36 months since July 1980, have been deferred into the future," Mr. Jones explained.

Minister Jones revealed that the government of Liberia to date has a total debt service of \$1.2 billion.

He said debt incurred by the PRC after 1980 now totals \$42 million and they are in the form of soft loans with low interest rates.

Mr. Jones said at the time of the coming to power of the PRC, the Tolbert Government had a total debt service of some \$850 million. He said since 1980, principal payments made on loans totalled \$140 million while interests have been put at \$129 million.

Obligations

Debt obligations prior to 1980, Jones said, were in the form of bilateral, multilateral and commercial loans.

He said the IMF, since 1980, has provided financial facilities to Liberia totalling \$180 million. This amount, he explained, has been used over the last three years for economic stabilization purposes.

Mr. Jones said funds provided under the IMF package to Liberia hardly ever reach here, instead, he noted, they are used to settle debts and other financial obligations in the West.

CSO: 3400/1884

JOINT FISHING VENTURE SETS PACE FOR NEW INVESTMENT TREND

Monrovia **NEW LIBERIAN** in English 8 Aug 83 p 5

["Special Correspondent's" Report]

[Text] For nearly four decades Liberia's Open Door Policy has been an excellent guarantee for foreign investment in the country. It has attracted a volume of investment estimated at more than a billion dollars.

But Liberia does not look like a country which has had the benefit of a billion dollars at work within its territory.

Most of the investment has of course been in the nature of exploiting the Liberian people and their natural resources to sustain industries outside the country and guarantee employment at the sources of such investment.

This old trend has left Liberia with nagging questions, such as: Why do we import almost all of the food we eat, when we are barely two million people on gloriously fertile land?

Why do we depend almost entirely on foreign sources for basic commodities which we could produce from our generous endowment of natural resources?

Why has commerce in the country remained dominated by an alien merchant community of economic vampires?"

Why are we heavily dependent on other nationals for the artisan skills which our economy so desperately needs?

The questions become even more pertinent at the point now where Liberia faces a new historical moment--the emergency of the Second Republic in 1985--after nearly a hundred and fifty years of the First Republic; the historical moment when thoughts and aspirations are strongly fixed on national reconstruction.

By and large, a different breed of investors needs to be attracted, investors whose central concern is geared toward fulfilling the goals raised by the above questions?

Certainly, there are investors who have felt the new mood of the country, and would earn the overwhelming confidence of Liberians at all levels if they help to push the country forward in that brave new direction.

An early arrival on the scene for this new drama is AMAFCOM (American-African Commodities Company). Characteristic of the American nature, perhaps, these American investors have a grand design for Liberia.

They came in, looked around, sounded out possibilities about several things and went back to return in a few weeks. If they had not returned, it would not have surprised anyone for that has been a familiar pattern since 1980 following the change of government.

Even though the military regime kept the door open, and indeed even intensified the nation's tradition of free enterprise, several persons and groups professing interest in Liberia have come, made plenty of noise and promises and never returned.

AMAFCOM people returned, and did so with a positive move into a joint venture with an indigenous Liberian group of companies this July. This first move into a fishing joint venture with Mesurado Group of Companies was so timely that it has helped to arrest the decline and imminent collapse of Liberia's largest fishing enterprise.

Even of far greater importance, though, is what is in the pipeline for Liberia as a whole, from this different breed of investors.

They are looking seriously at areas of economic activity which will involve Liberians at all levels in working with their own natural resources in their own country and selling them to the world as finished or semi-finished commodities, instead of being held in perpetual destitution by the world's raw materials market.

In this process they would command better incomes and acquire the industrial skills that will become a permanent feature of development.

They are even talking about setting up a gold bank, possibly with government participation, to buy all the gold produced in Liberia and, in addition to paying fair prices to Liberian miners, also issue them certificates making them profit-sharing partners in the proceeds generated from enterprises funded by the revenue accruing from the sale of the gold on the international market by the gold bank. An exciting idea, everyone in the meeting felt.

AMAFCOM's objective of setting the pace and become the model [one word illegible] the new investment

CSO: 3400/1884

PRESS BARRED FROM CONSTITUTION ADVISORY ASSEMBLY

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 16 Aug 83 pp 1, 6

[Article by Joe K. Roberts: "Press Barred from Assembly"]

[Text] Members of the press have been barred from covering all sessions of the Constitution Advisory Assembly being held in Gbarnga, Bong County.

The decision was contained in the rules and regulations that would govern the body during its 45 days deliberations.

The rules, adopted yesterday at the end of a two-day recess to allow assembly members more time to adjust themselves, forbid members of the assembly, except the chairman, from making public statements on the activities of the assembly.

The seven-page document also prohibits assembly members from publicly supporting any constitutional issue, except authorized by the body.

The restriction on both the press and assembly members, the rules state, was to ensure that deliberations and decisions of the assembly are kept in confidence until released by the body through its chairman.

The document was presented to the assembly chairman Dr. Edward Binyah Kessellly of Lofa County, by a five-man committee headed by Rev. Christopher Kandakai of Grand Cape Mount County.

Reaction

Reacting to the decision to prohibit the press from covering all sessions of the assembly, member James Y. Gbarbea of Bong County told the assembly that it would be unwise for journalists to be sent out because, according to him, "they are a link between what we are doing here and the public."

His argument, however, was not taken seriously as it had already been decided that the press would be briefed at the end of each day's session.

Nearly all the journalists in Gbarnga were of the opinion that they would not be able to report the proceedings of the assembly accurately and objectively if they are kept out.

They also believed that what would be handed down to them during these "briefings" would be what they described as "a boiled down" accounts of what had actually taken place.

BRIEFS

BELGIAN OIL PROJECT LOAN--A Belgian firm called Vandekerckhove (VDK) is to give a \$5.4 million loan to the Liberian Government for the Butaw Oil Mill project in Sinoe County. The amount will be used for the installation of a fresh fruit processing factory and oil mill, according to the Firm's Manager, Mr. Phillippe Geeraert, who spoke about the package during an emergency meeting of the Butaw board of directors at the Ministry of Agriculture on Monday. Mr. Geeraert explained that VDK's function in Liberia is to provide technical assistance for the production and delivery of palm oil through economic cooperation. He noted that VDK is part of a group of Belgian companies with high technology and financial stability, specialising in palm oil equipment. He said plans are underway to incorporate VDK in Liberia to further strengthen the ties of friendship between Liberia and Belgium. Mr. Geeraert told the board members that if everything goes according to plan, the Butaw plant would be ready to start operations by August 1984. The Butaw Oil Mill Corporation is jointly financed by the Government of Liberia, [Lue Hinneh] [Text] [Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 11 Aug 83 p 3]

CSO: 3400/1884

TEXT OF MACHEL MESSAGE TO CASTRO ON MONCADA ANNIVERSARY

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 26 Jul 83 p 1

[Text] The Mozambican people, united around their Frelimo Party, stand in solidarity with the struggle of the Cuban people against all the machinations, maneuvers and aggressions mounted against them by the imperialist forces. That declaration of the solidarity of the Mozambican people, reiterated once again, was made by Samora Machel, president of the Frelimo Party and president of the People's Republic of Mozambique on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the assault on Moncada Barracks by the patriotic and revolutionary forces that overthrew the fascist and bloody regime of Batista in that Latin American country. President Samora Machel sent a message to Fidel Castro, leader of the Cuban revolution, in which, in the name of the Mozambican people, he hails the great successes of the Cuban people in building socialism. Following is the full text of that message:

Comrade Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, president of the State Council and of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba:

Today we commemorate the 30th anniversary of Moncada, the beginning of an epic that fills with glorious pages the sacrifice-laden struggle of the Cuban people against fascist tyranny. The tenacity, the courage and the loyalty to the noble ideals of serving the people demonstrated by the heroes of Moncada on 26 July 1953 have made this date a stimulus and encouragement to the peace-loving peoples who are fighting against humiliation, oppression and exploitation.

On this holiday for Free Cuba, all Mozambican workers join with it with enthusiasm and joy.

In the name of our people, of the Frelimo Party and of the government of the People's Republic of Mozambique, and in my personal name, I convey to you Comrade Fidel Castro, the warmest greetings to you, to the Cuban people and to the Communist Party of Cuba.

Moncada, prison bastion of the dictatorship, where it was sought to eliminate the clamoring voice of justice of the Cuban patriots, became

transformed into a beacon that illuminated the Granma expedition and the grand battles that, from the Sierra Maestra, spread to all Cuba and made it the first free territory in the Americas, established on the frontier of the most aggressive and ferocious imperialism.

Moncada demonstrated that, however powerful the forces of aggression may be, a people determined to struggle and overcome for their ideals of freedom and justice will always win. Moncada puts into perspective the victory of the millions of poor and exploited in the Cuban land against a handful of fascist oppressors. From the army of patriots created by Moncada, small but organized, disciplined and cohesive, is born the Rebel Army of thousands of fighters. Closely united to all the people, it is this army that, overthrowing the Batista tyranny, raises aloft forever the banner of dignity and national sovereignty in Cuba, a banner for which Jose Marti, Carlos Manuel de Cespedes, Maximo Gomez, Antonio Maceo and so many other devoted Cuban patriots fought heroically. It is this army that makes Free Cuba a solid bastion of independence, of justice, of progress and of peace.

In this glorious course of struggle begun in Moncada, the Cuban people found in you, Comrade Fidel Castro, the enlightened guide, the far-seeing strategist, the commander in chief who, at any moment and circumstance knew how to be always at his fighting and command post and to give precise and correct guidance.

In these last 30 years, the Cuban people, led by Comrade Fidel Castro, from Moncada to the Granma and the Sierra Maestra, have written glorious pages of struggle and sacrifice that will never be forgotten or ignored.

Today, the 30th anniversary of Moncada, the Cuban people are building their happiness and prosperity, advancing resolutely in building socialism in their country. The warlike forces of imperialism seek by all means to check that victorious march of the people of the Island of Freedom. They have not learned the proper lessons from Moncada; its exploitative fanaticism does not perceive that the spirit of Moncada of the 10 million Cubans will be the tomb of any threat, transgression or aggression against Cuba. Today, the 10 million Cubans have made of their just cause, of their noble ideals, the conscious force of a whole people who cannot be destroyed by any force.

The Mozambican people, united around their Frelimo party, stands in solidarity with the fraternal people of Cuba to whom they are linked by the closest bonds of international friendship and solidarity.

On this 30th anniversary of Moncada, the Mozambican people ardently hail the great successes of Cuba in building socialism, its solidarity and militant internationalism, which cause the Cuban people to feel as their own the struggle of the peoples of the whole world against imperialism, colonialism, exploitation and humiliation.

We are certain that the bonds of cooperation between our two peoples, parties and states will be continually strengthened in the common struggle that we wage for economic, social and cultural development, for peace among peoples, for socialism.

We wish you, Comrade Fidel Castro, the greatest successes in the wise leadership that you have known how to imprint upon the party and state of your free and independent country, and we address to you our wishes for your health and long life.

Sincere regards, the Struggle Continues!

Samora Moises Machel, president of the Frelimo Party, president of the People's Republic of Mozambique; Maputo, 26 July 1983.

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CSO: 3442/338

MOZAMBIQUE

MOSCOW CITY GOVERNMENT DONATES TRUCKS TO MAPUTO

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 3 Aug 83 p 2

[Text] Monday morning in the port of Maputo, a gift consisting of six trucks equipped for street cleaning, garden sprinkling and trash collection was presented to the Executive Council of the city of Maputo by its counterpart in Moscow.

The gift represents the implementation of agreements signed last year when a delegation of the Executive Council of the city of Maputo visited Moscow. The agreements provide for the establishment of direct relations between the capitals of both countries.

In the ceremony of presentation of the six "Zil Stotrich" trucks, the Soviet charge-d'affairs in Maputo declared that the relations of friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Mozambique continue to expand in various areas, assuming new forms.

"It was on the basis of the principles of internationalism and solidarity with the struggle of the Mozambican people that the city council of Moscow decided to render this material aid to the Executive Council of the city of Maputo," he said.

For his part, the chairman of the Executive Council of the city of Maputo, who received the gift and was accompanied by the Support and Control, Urban Services and Transportation and Traffic directors of the city, said in his speech that he considered the gesture a testimony of the relations existing between the two peoples, relations that date from the time of the struggle for national liberation.

"Your aid at this moment in which we are waging a new struggle, the struggle against underdevelopment, does not surprise us. This gift also has particular meaning to us because it shows that despite the long distance that separates us, the city council of Moscow is very close," said Alberto Massavanhane, expressing thanks for that gesture in the name of the assembly and the Executive Council of the city of Maputo.

We learned at the site of the presentation also that the six vehicles, which will be attended by a Soviet technician, will shortly go into operation in the capital city of the country.

At the request of the charge-d'affaires of the Soviet Embassy in Maputo, part of this equipment may be sent to Matola, as a gesture of solidarity of the Soviet people to the population that was victim of the South African raid in that area of the capital city.

8711

CSO: 3442/338

BRIEFS

SOFALA'S NEW DIRECTORS--One day before the meeting of the provincial government, the executive of Sofala installed two new provincial directors. They are Jose da Silva Francisco and Adelino da Graca Ribeiro, provincial directors for Finance and Construction and Waters, respectively. Speaking at the installation ceremony of those new officials held in Government Palace, Marcelino dos Santos said that the action of the provincial government must make itself felt throughout the territory. Marcelino dos Santos emphasized that the task of a member of the government is to constantly raise the collective action of that organization, especially in the fight against hunger and against the armed bandits, in implementation of the decisions of the Fourth Congress of the Frelimo Party. [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 10 Aug 83 p 1]

8711

CSO: 3442/338

SENEGAL

GOVERNMENT REPORTEDLY DERIVING EXORBITANT PROFIT FROM RICE

Dakar TAKUSAAN in French 27-28 Aug 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by P. Mbodje "Rice at 93 Francs per Kilo"]

[Text] That is the real cost of rice. The absence of equalization [procedures] is a sham excuse which does not explain away the increase.

In wake of the price readjustment:

--Abdou Diouf's star is on the wane.

--Reaction from the man in the street.

It is not true to claim that, because the government no longer provides price supports for rice, we deserved the price increases announced by Abdou Diouf on Friday. Quite to the contrary. Because the government is trying to get out of a tight spot it has imposed high prices in order to siphon the 34 billion needed to meet the crisis from the pockets of the Senegalese people.

In fact, since Saturday we have made careful calculations that have convinced us that a kilogram of rice costs the state exactly 92.4 francs, counting all expenses. These calculations, carried out with the help of an expert with the Price Equalization and Stabilization Fund (CPSP), also show that the government is making an exorbitant profit from the rice operation.

First of all, there is the difference between the cost fob and the contract price itself. At this stage the difference amounts to U.S. \$39 per ton.

The fob cost actually amounts to U.S. \$177. According to the terms of the contract, the CPSP buys its rice at U.S. \$216, in other words at a price \$39 higher. Either someone does not know how to negotiate, or the people who are supposed to be working for the Senegalese people are not animated by any desire to help alleviate their heavy burdens. Or, to venture a third hypothesis: the purpose is to make money on the contract itself and pass along the increase to succeeding points along the distribution chain all the way to the retail sales level.

This third hypothesis appears to be the most plausible. Indeed, the state is doing nothing from now on to rein in the operations of the chain of

middlemen, to get their operations on a more human level by cutting out as many unnecessary middlemen as possible and thus attenuating the state's costs. With the contract now in effect, a number of things are being done for which the consumer will have to foot the bill.

First of all, there is the rice unloading operation at the port of Dakar: the consumer on average pays Fr CFA 2,000 francs for each ton of rice unloaded. The CPSP then siphons off another Fr CFA 2,000 for services performed. This Fr CFA 2,000 then goes to pay for "CPSP operating expenses: personnel, insurance, etc..." And that is not all, since the consumer also pays another 2,000 francs per ton for "miscellaneous expenses" (sic).

Let us go through the steps of this calculation together:

- f.o.b. cost (we recall): U.S. \$177 per ton;
- contract price: U.S. \$216 per ton;
- unloading costs: Fr CFA 2,000 per ton;
- CPSP overhead: personnel, insurance, etc: Fr CFA 2,000 per ton;
- miscellaneous expenses: Fr CFA 2,000 per ton.

In all, the cost comes to 92.4 francs.

Conclusion: even if the total cost of a ton of rice came to 100,000 francs worldwide, how can one explain the fact that the current price the consumer has to pay is 130 francs? Exactly what does truth in pricing mean, in this instance? In other words, what is the truth?

Now the state, through its rice operations, hopes to make up its famous deficit of Fr CFA 34 billion. As if the average Senegalese citizen were responsible for all the money squandered by government officials for the benefit of their favorites.

What was the real motive behind the strike by the customs officials? Was it not that they were fed up with having to subsidize, at their own expense, the exorbitantly luxurious lifestyles of certain favorites?

The state wants to recapture 34 billion right away. It is quite simply forgetting that it has quite simply written off the equivalent of 800 billion in tax obligations of every kind that it "forgot" to recover as a favor to some of its favorites.

It is a joke--but at whose expense?

9516

CSO: 3419/1195

SENEGAL

ABDOU DIOUF'S POPULARITY SAID TO BE DECLINING

Dakar TAKUSAAN in French 27-28 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by Alioune Ndiaye "Abdou Diouf's Popularity Declining"]

[Text] Direct dialogue with the people who elected him and who believe in him, the intimacy of the medium of television which penetrates into every household, and the confident tone in which he delivered his message, all doubtless worked to persuade most of the hesitant and win the support of the skeptics," wrote Bara Diouf in his editorial in LE SOLEIL on 20 August, the day after Abdou Diouf's address to the nation.

When one considers that the managing editor of the SOLEIL had to have written his editorial virtually as soon as the head of state had completed his speech to the Senegalese people, one may well ask how he had the time to carry out an investigation to ascertain that the hesitant had been persuaded and the skeptics turned into supporters.

Let us not delude ourselves. The truth is: the price increases announced by Abdou Diouf have unleashed a general outcry of indignation from the Senegalese people. And a number of people are saying some very unkind things about the measures he has taken.

"Just where does Abdou Diouf plan to take us? If he wanted to lead us into penury, he has certainly taken the right steps," said an official in the Ministry of Health.

"Earning 60,000 francs, with a wife who does not have a job, six children under the age of 18, the rent to pay, not to mention the water and electricity bills, how am I supposed to cope with these increases in the price of such vital commodities as rice, vegetable oil and sugar?" demands one private sector worker, who says categorically: "If Abdou Diouf is incapable of running the country the way we want him to, he should move aside and let someone else take his place."

It is undeniable that many people had high hopes when Abdou Diouf came to power. His first actions as head of state (calling the States General on Education, creating the special court to deal with cases of illegal enrichment, etc...) convinced many of those who had still been doubters.

But then there was the election farce of 27 February, which provided grist for the mill to those who believed Abdou Diouf was only playing a cynical game of hide-and-seek with the people. His popular standing inevitably suffered.

And now, on the economic scene, after having suffered several reverses, he really lays his cards on the table: cards which are going to crush the Senegalese people under the weight of burdens heavier than any they have known so far.

On closer inspection, the price increases are going to be much sharper than has been announced. We have been told about sugar, rice, vegetable oil and petroleum products. Many people have been dwelling only on rice, sugar and vegetable oil. But what they are forgetting is that the most serious problems have to do with petroleum products.

Let us take an example: when the price of gasoline increases by 20 percent, it can only be a short time before there is a nearly identical increase in the price of transport--both for passengers and for goods.

One consequence: all the products you find on the market will become more expensive. Fish, especially, may well become prohibitively expensive, since the price of marine diesel fuel has increased by 10 francs. This in turn is going to lead the fisherman to charge more for the fish he sells the fishmonger. And the fishmonger who has to pay more for transporting the fish is also going to pass that increase down the distribution chain.

Obviously, the consumers are the ones that will suffer in all this, and the housewife will not fill her shopping-basket so full.

If all Abdou Diouf's recent trips to the United States have accomplished is to bring about our submission to the demands of the World Bank [IBRD] and the International Monetary Fund [IMF], including the unpopular decisions just recently taken, that trip will live long in Senegal's memory.

It is unfortunate for us that our country does not have its own institute to poll public opinion. It may be fortunate for the head of state, however, for if we had such an institute he would have been able to see how far his popularity has dropped. He should not, however, be unaware of the fact that the Senegalese people are really dissatisfied, if his intelligence services have reported back to him accurately on the sentiments prevailing in the country in the wake of these steep price increases.

Will the lesson be learned?

9516
CSO: 3419/1195

ECONOMISTS SAY NATION WILL RECOVER FROM RECESSION BY YEAR'S END

Victoria NATION in English 5 Sep 83 pp 1, 2

[Excerpt]

SEYCHELLES should, by the end of this year, start breaking loose of the recession that has mired its progress for the last three years, economists in the Ministry of Planning and External Relations believe.

The Ministry's Chief Economist, Mr. Emmanuel Faure, told Seychelles Agence Presse that activity in the building sector, the expected tourism recovery, the imminent launching of commercial fishing, increased national production, better co-operation from the private sector and an expected increase in foreign aid would all contribute to pull the country out of the worst of its problems before too long and create more jobs.

All this optimism and the Government's hopes for the coming years would be reflected in the 1984—1988 National Development Plan now being compiled, Mr. Faure said. Future projects would put priority on production and employment, and this was expected to elicit widespread support when the proposed Plan would be put to public debate.

Main factors

Looking at the main factors on which his economists were basing their hopes, Mr. Faure said that big construction projects such as the redevelopment of Victoria Hospital, a sewerage network for Victoria and the future East Coast Road and port development project would provide several hundred jobs for the next "three to four years".

On the tourism side, the key thing was to "get our prices and costs right" but like most other people in Seychelles, Mr. Faure welcomed the signs of recovery so far. He looked to Air Seychelles' international flight, the joint promotion package with Kenya, reduced prices, and the use of local produce in hotels to join with other factors in making tourism a determining factor in the country's economic comeback.

Critical sector

The Chief Economist believed that industrial fishing was now set to launch itself as the critical sector of the future. He saw much scope for joint ventures with foreign countries or companies and increased licensing of foreign fishing boats. The European

Economic Community and France, for example, were very interested in joining Seychelles in exploiting some of the richest fish stocks in the Indian Ocean.

Traditional fishing could also expect a boost from the La Digue boatyard which was opening up another job market on the island, Mr. Faure said.

Self-sufficiency

Turning to Seychelles' drive towards self-sufficiency, the Chief Economist maintained that the sectors concerned were increasingly accepting the urgency to produce as much as possible what the country needed. This was reflected somewhat in the drop in imports so far this year and the growing number of people tilling backyard gardens.

EAST COAST PROJECT ENTERS DETAILED DESIGN STAGE

Victoria NATION in English 7 Sep 83 pp 1, 2

[Text]

THE much-awaited East Coast Development Scheme that will see a new road between Victoria and the airport, a proper fishing port and an enlarged commercial dock, has entered the detailed design phase, the Department of Planning announced yesterday.

Economist Arnold Chetty told Seychelles Agence Presse that the Government last week contracted a Norwegian engineering firm, Norplan, to draw up a detailed design for the several "projects within a project".

The job is being financed with a R24 million grant from the Norwegian Government and will take a year to 15 months to finish. However, preliminary designs and cost estimates could be ready by the end of this year.

At a cost of over R300 million, the East Coast Development Scheme will be the largest project of any kind ever undertaken in this country.

A causeway will be built in the sea to link Victoria with

Seychelles International Airport eight kilometres away. extensive reclamation will be carried out, the New Port quay will be extended, and a new fishing port will be built at the Long Pier.

Stressing once again the importance of the Scheme, Mr. Chetty explained that it would provide new infrastructure and services to reinforce the country's ability to diversify its scope of development.

The building of a new fishing port, for example, would enable the Government to better organise the development of the fishing industry, creating more jobs and providing new sources of foreign exchange.

Taking another example, Mr. Chetty said that the land reclaimed between the causeway on which the road would be built and the present coastline would provide plenty more space between the capital and the airport for housing, industrial and other development.

The Government expects to borrow money for the actual Scheme from several overseas sources, with the World Bank as the leading financial agency.

The Chief Engineer in the Planning Department, Mr. Alan Lloyd, is presently in Washington to discuss the project with World Bank officials and Norplan.

The Norwegian firm, which beat three other companies for last week's contract, has just finished a feasibility study of Seychelles' fisheries development plans up to the year 2,000 and the Government is now waiting for the final report.

CSO: 3400/1935

MILITARY TRAINING EXERCISES WITH UNITED STATES DEFENDED

Mogadiscio HEEGAN in English 19 Aug 83 p 2

[Editorial: "Eastern Wind in the Eye of Enemy"]

[Text] Mengistu has developed the queer habit of denouncing very loudly in others all the faults about which he feels guilty himself. This is the only explanation that can be given for Ethiopia's land tirades against the joint U.S.-Somali military maneuvers in course in the vicinity of Berbera. For, who is keeping foreign troops on his soil? Who is stationing fifteen thousand Cuban combat troops in Ethiopia? Who has handed the Eritrean Dahlak Islands over to the Russians as bases? Who has sold Ethiopia's independence to the Kremlin? Who is internationalizing the conflict in the Horn by introducing foreign combat brigades into the Region? Who is kept in power by overseas mercenaries?

Combined training exercises involving the forces of two or more friendly countries are nothing new. As a sovereign State, the Somali Democratic Republic is free to exercise jointly with friendly countries who are able to help her defend its independence against Russian aggression by proxy.

The exercise at Berbera have angered Moscow and Addis Ababa not because it is aimed at any of them. These exercises do not endanger the independence or territorial integrity of either Russian or Ethiopia. The present leader of these two countries disapprove of the exercises for this simple reason. They see the maneuvers as a curb on their trouble-making in the Horn of Africa which has been going on for more than five years now. They feel that, at least a proper response to their mischief-making has been worked out. They are in grief over that. And not because of any danger that the maneuvers pose to their existence.

The Kremlin is stirring trouble in many corners of the world. Sometimes it acts directly, as in Afghanistan. But, more often, it acts through puppets, such as Mengistu and Qaddafi. It acts through such puppets with the aim of confusing world public opinion. The Kremlin may hope to confuse others by fine words and fool actions. But there are some countries that it can never hope to confuse. Countries that are too familiar with Moscow's pattern of aggression by proxy.

CSO: 3400/1888

AL-QADHDHAFI INTERFERENCE IN CHADIAN CONFLICT SCORED

Mogadiscio HEEGAN in English 26 Aug 83 p 2

[Editorial: "At It Again"]

[Text] Kaddafi's forces are in Chad this time. They are there to achieve an impossible task. Namely, to win some prestige and authority to their leader, who is now totally disgraced in Africa and the world at Large. Kaddafi's antics have won him such a bad name that it is impossible to make a respectable statement out of him by any means. People everywhere suspect him of lunacy and he is systematically plunging into such queer projects as to confirm this popular belief about him.

His forays into Sudan are still fresh in our minds. The fate of his contingents in Uganda makes sad reading. Now and then he gets serious about invading Egypt. His pronouncements about the world order, as envisioned in his Green Book, are seen more as anecdotes than anything else. His present Chadean adventure has succeeded only in alienating African leader's sympathy even more. Kaddafi is famous for dreams that are outsize for him. A puppet himself, whether he knows it or not, he would like to set up his own puppet in Chad. In that way, you would have a little puppet standing behind a bigger, albeit mad, puppet. Kaddafi forgets that all puppets are bad, and that the bigger the puppet, the worse.

For a long time Kaddafi has tried to win the Chairmanship of the OAU. That campaign stretched over a number of years. We all remember the outcome of that campaign. Kaddafi no longer dreams about that post now. It is in part to compensate for his humiliation in Addis Ababa that he plunged into Chad this time. He will have to be frustrated several times in Chad too before he will give up his dreams concerning that country. What Qaddafi will do after his adventure in Chad is hard to predict. But one thing is fairly clear. He will do nothing that will be considered normal, or respectable.

Africa calls on Kaddafi to stop the invasion of Chad. Kaddafi must end his ten-year occupation of uranium-rich Aozou strip-the northern part of Chad that borders on Libya.

Observing Kaddafi's erratic behaviour one sadly concludes that money can do a lot of things but it cannot make leaders out of mad men.

LIBYAN, SOVIET BLOC BACKING OF 'ETHIOPIAN AGGRESSORS' HIT

Mogadiscio HEEGAN in English 26 Aug 83 p 3

[Article prepared by Mohamoud Abdi Mohamoud (FAT): "The Aggression That Failed:]

[Text] It was in mid-july when a communique issued by the Somali Ministry of Defence revealed that as usual Abyssinia has waged unwarranted aggression on some parts of Somali territories. The targets the enemy have attacked this time were Balanballe, Mataban and Quobno, Dogobyar, Berdhagahtur zones. All these [one word illegible] are parts of of Hiraan, Galgaduud, and Mudug regions.

That beastly naked aggression has been heroically repulsed by the Somali national armed forces who were stationed there for defence.

Among the sophisticated weapons the enemy employed and left behind when countered included armoured personnel carriers (ABC) supplied by Libiya which is notorious for its trouble making and aggression backing around various parts of the globe.

Recently the Ministry of defence again issued a statment saying that Ethiopian aggressors attacked the SDR villages of Libah-Qawdhan and Dul-Dulale located between the Guha and Libi-Sagalle of the Northwest Region.

The statment revealed that attack stopped after the invading troops were dealt with heavy blows that left them crippled and righty vanguished, the statement added that the attacking forces retreated to their initial bases.

Our national army faithful to the sacred duty of defending, whatever the cost, the Somali sovereignty and territorial integrity effectively guarantees every moment to hold back the enemy and their surrogates along the defacto border with decisively.

As we are fully aware of it is not for the first time the Abyssinian forced forces wage unprovoked attacks on Somalia These ceaseless aggressions are known to the world are, but a clear disguise of a wicked supper-power strategy in the Horn of Africa.

There is also the fact that Mengistu's unscrupulous aim in these savage attacks is to make a smoke-screen for many problems facing his country at present. Of these include the armed liberation struggle movements of western Somali, Abbo, Eritrea and Tigray; all are seeking complete independence for their respective territories from the harsh domination of the black colonialist Mengistu regime. In addition to that, there are also many Ethiopian Organizations who are continuing to wage ceaseless fighting against the wild tyrant rule of Mengistu. He wants also to cover the economic problem facing the country today with these aggressions.

To maintain these repeating attacks is costing the Addis Ababa regime more than 30 per cent of Ethiopia's 1.2 billion dollars budget which is too much to allot to the army and the new compulsory recruitment recently introduced to increase what is already been an army of 250,000, the largest force in the sub-saharan Africa. In addition to this Ethiopia is in adebt of 2 billion dollars loaned in arms by Russia; it is very clear that the Addis Ababa regime could not been even afford to pay back that amount.

In the meantime, most evidences suggest that first bloom of the revolution is beginning to wilt. Agricultural output, thy key to any improvement for Ethiopia's impoverished peasants, has stagnated. State farms set up after the revolution cover 40 per-cent of Ethiopia's arable land and consume 76 per-cent of available fertilizers, yet 80 per-cent are operating at a loss.

Undoubtedly what made possible for Abyssinia to continue these constant raids on Somalia is that it has been armed to the teeth and beyond both its defence needs and its capability of using them, that is done in order to fulfill a strategical expansion interest for a super-power in this region.

In exchange, the Addis Ababa regime has conditionally offered both military and naval bases to that super-power.

A statement from the Somali foreign ministry recently issued said that: The present day Abyssinia has become a fortress, it bristles with naval and air bases denoted by super-power. The [intention] of such military power is to create a constant source of tension and instability in this region.

The foreign ministry statement added that the main target is the distabilisation of the countries of East-Africa, the littoral states of the Red Sea and the Gulf. The presence of these super-power denoted bases in Abyssinia (the statement refers to the bases in Dabre-zeit, the Eritrean island of Dahlak, Assab and Mussawa) threatens not only the regional peace and security of immediate neighbours but also world peace and order in general.

The statement continued declared that the existence of these bases are contrary to the basic principles and policies of the non-aligned movement, the united nations, the O.A.U. charter and the spirit of promoting harmonious fruitful Afro-Arab co-operation.

These bases are manned and strongly backed by seven-teen thousand (17,000) Cuban combat troops together with five thousand (5,000) Soviet support

personnel and in addition there are a good number of East German military advisers. This clearly shows the strong influence the Russians and their satellites on both military matters and the running of the Ethiopian government ministries and departments.

Therefore, it's without doubt that what once was imperial proud Ethiopia now fell under the tight grip of Russia widely well known for its expansionist and hegemonist policies.

In conclusion, Mengistu, with no more tricks left in the hat to bamboozle both his people and the world, tries to use [the] raids on Somalia as escape goat from his internal problems. Also, he has repeatedly turned down Somalia's call for peace and permanent solution to the problem in this region. Besides this, Abyssinia attempts to destabilize Somalia's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

But, the Addis Ababa regime should bear in mind that Somalia is strongly capable of always defending its sovereignty and any aggression on its territorial integrity is always doomed to failure.

CSO: 3400/1888

SWLF YOUTH ORGANIZATION RETURNS FROM MEETINGS

Mogadiscio HEEGAN in English 26 Aug 83 p 6

[Text] Mogadishu, Thursday--The delegation led by the Chairman of Youth Organization of Western Somali Liberation Front Jaalle Abdirahman Mohamed Sheikh Mahdi, has returned back to SDR after they have participated in the 7th meeting of Eritrean National Students and Workers Union and in 6th meeting of Eritrean Women Organization, which were held at Bologna in Italy early this week.

During the meeting, which were participated by 38 organizations, composing of relief organization, research centers and other institutions which give supports to the peoples fighting for their independence, Jaalle Abdirahman has delivered a speech pertaining to the struggle carried out by the people of Western Somali and the expansion of Abyssinian colonialism in the Horn of Africa region.

Jaalle Abdirahman has further briefed the attendants of the meeting, the present stage of the struggle and hinted the role the foreign troops in Ethiopia play in the eradication and the mass-killing of the natives ther.

During his stay in Italy, Jaalle Abdirahman has met with some of the representatives of the Organization and the unions who took part in the meeting, where they expressed their support and sympathy for the WSLF in their just joint struggle for independence and self-determination.

The Chairman has, conclusively, mentioned that the Horn of Africa Liberation movements have agreed on to unify their armed resistance and to have close cooperation.

CSO: 3400/1888

ROLE OF MIGRANT WORKERS IN SA EXAMINED

Johannesburg SAF POSITION PAPER in English Aug 83

[Article by D. A. S. Herbst]

[Text]

WHAT AN OUTCRY there would be if South Africa expelled two million black workers — shunted them like so many cattle along roads, on trains and on boats, some of them to die on the way.

One can well imagine the self-righteous howling at the United Nations and in the O.A.U. the motions of condemnation and the calls for sanctions and even war against South Africa.

When it happened earlier this year in Nigeria — and Ghanaians were the victims — there was hardly a flutter of concern beyond the immediate precincts of West Africa. Had it been South Africa.

"Had South Africa been the culprit", said Bechir Ben Yamed, Chief Editor of *Jeune Afrique* — who cannot be accused of any particularly indulgent attitude towards Pretoria — "what a chorus of invective should we not have been privileged to hear"

REGULATED

The fact is that it couldn't happen in South Africa. The migrant labour system is well regulated and orderly — unlike the position in Nigeria and Ghana.

These views are expressed in an article on migrant workers in South Africa in *Courrier Austral Parlementaire*, Bulletin of the various Associations, Friendships, Contact and Liaison Groups between southern Africa and the National and European Parliamentary Assemblies Paris, 2nd Quarter 1983, No 5.

Put in perspective, labour migration

constitutes one of the sensitive areas of southern African inter-dependence.

It is obvious that in the labour field, as in many other fields, the countries of southern Africa are inter-dependent. Attempting to withdraw from this network is a formula for economic disintegration, social tension and political strife.

RIKHOTO CASE

The rights of migrant workers in South Africa was the subject of an Appeal Court ruling at the end of May in the Rikhoto case.

In terms of the ruling, migrant workers like Mr Tom Rikhoto who have been working for one employer for ten years will be entitled to permanent residence — and the chance of applying for a home of their own — in urban areas on the understanding that they have returned home on paid leave annually; have entered into new service contracts with the same employer, and then returned to resume service. Migrant workers who have worked for various employers over 15 years will also qualify.

The Government anticipated legislation during the current parliamentary session to clarify the position of wives and children of such migrant workers. It added that accommodation must be available before families could be

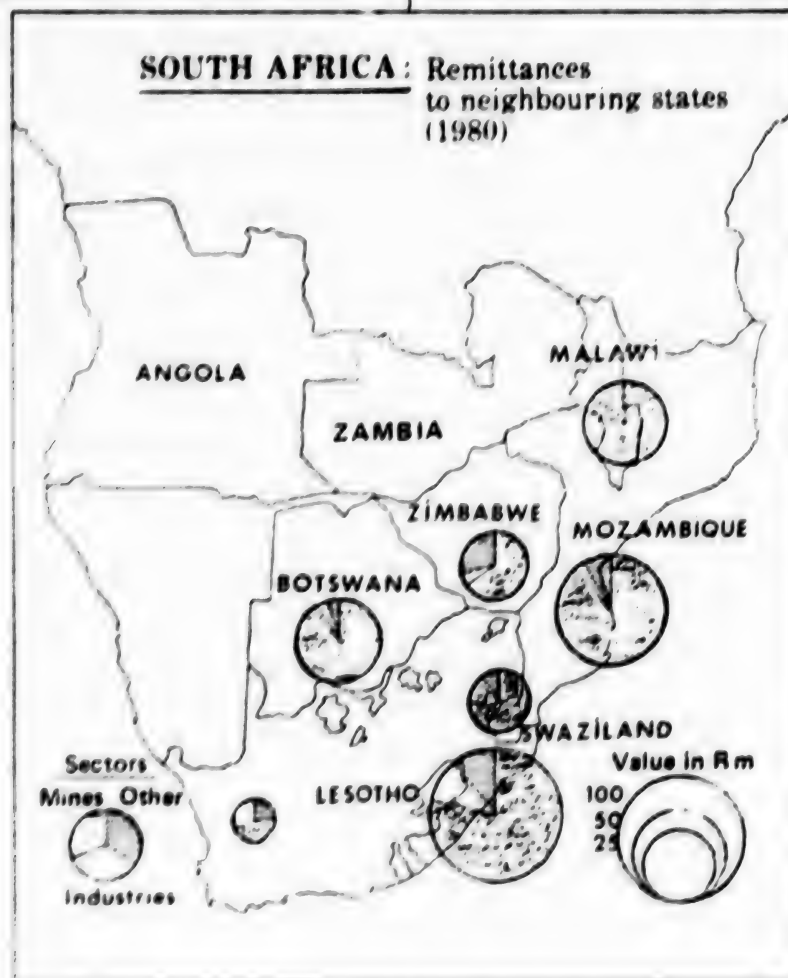
brought to the cities.

Some 140 000 migrant workers could qualify for urban rights. It is however unlikely that all of them would immediately get rights.

The TBVC countries together "export" about 634 000 migrant workers, almost half of the total number of workers from the ten black states.

mate aim of reducing and eliminating the supply of migrant labour to South Africa.

The number of foreign blacks officially recruited to work in South Africa has been steadily declining since 1974. The result is that the number of local workers employed in South African mines has risen from 33 per cent in 1975



Although most of the labour "export" countries belonging to the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) are on record for striving towards ending the system, migrant labour cannot be phased out overnight.

In 1980 SADCC countries established the Southern African Labour Commission (SALC) in Gaborone with the ulti-

mate aim of reducing and eliminating the supply of migrant labour to South Africa. During 1981 about 302 000 foreign black workers were employed in the Republic as against 360 000 in 1977.

Most countries in the sub-continent are nevertheless destined to depend on migrant labour for years to come.

The one exception is Malawi. Some 250 000 migrant workers have returned home over the past five to eight years and

have been absorbed into a well-planned economy.

BLS COUNTRIES

A look at the BLS countries reveals their dependence on the South African labour market.

Lesotho, whose relations with South Africa have sadly deteriorated recently, provides a graphic illustration of regional commitment.

In the commercial sphere, Lesotho is one of the co-signatories with South

seeking more profitable work elsewhere. The average wage in a government job in Gaborone is more than four times that of an average wage in agriculture.

In Swaziland the government stated in its Third National Development Plan 1979-1983 that it intends to keep the situation under review but has no plans to reduce future levels of migration to South Africa.

Since 1981 Zimbabwean workers have been repatriated on expiry of their contracts.

	1979		1981	
	Migrants	Commuters	Migrants	Commuters
Ciskei	47 000	37 100	60 000	38 400
KwaZulu	300 000	370 300	280 000	384 000
QwaQwa	35 000	2 500	51 000	9 500
Lebowa	139 000	57 900	186 000	72 200
Gazankulu	36 000	7 800	58 000	9 700
KaNgwane	35 000	33 100	57 000	40 000
KwaNdebele	32 000	3 500	63 000	8 700
Transkei	260 000	8 900	336 000	9 100
Bophuthatswana	177 000	161 900	197 000	162 200
Venda	29 000	5 600	41 000	5 700
Total	1 090 000	688 600	1 329 000	745 500

The above table details the number of migrants and commuters to SA for the two years specified. (Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1982; Johannesburg, 1983.)

Africa of the Customs Union Agreement, and its import requirements are largely supplied from South Africa. Benefiting from a highly favourable formula, Lesotho's share in the customs pool is the most important single component of its treasury income — over R100 million or some two-thirds of state revenue, every year.

Even more important for the economy of Lesotho are the employment opportunities for its people in South Africa. Hardly a single household in Lesotho does not have at least one adult male working in the Republic.

WAGE REMITTANCE

In 1978, 152 000 people from Lesotho were employed in South Africa, compared with some 30 000 in wage employment at home. Presently the remittance of wages of the approximately 140 000 Lesotho migrants constitutes more than 40 per cent of Lesotho's gross national product. That is apart from the goods to the value of some R150 million that accompany them when they return home annually.

About 40 per cent of rural households in Botswana are without adult males —

COLONIAL DAYS

Reality shows that annually hundreds of thousands of workers move across national boundaries to employment in the region's major mining and industrial centres.

The system goes back to colonial times and is both a cause and a product of poverty and underdevelopment of particularly rural areas.

More than six out of ten people living in rural areas in Africa cannot satisfy their basic needs in food, clothing, housing, schooling and health care.

It is expected that Africa's population of 483 million (UN mid year est. 1981) will almost double in 23 years as a result of a population growth rate of 2.9 per cent.

ECONOMICS

Economic progress and growth rate — the key to the creation of job opportunities — has not kept pace with the population growth.

The objective of a growth rate of 3.5 per cent in per capita GNP has been achieved by only a handful of African countries. In most countries real per capita income is still declining.

In southern Africa the problems created by poverty and an inability to accomplish economic viability are, among others, responsible for migrant labour.

COURRIER VIEW

The remainder of the *Courrier Austral Parlementaire* article says:

South Africa has more than 1.5 million migrant workers who are officially registered as such. This is seven per cent of the total population (comparative figures for France being 12 per cent, Belgium 15 per cent and West Germany 7 per cent).

They come to South Africa not only from Transkei and other former homelands now independent but about a third of a million from all the neighbouring countries as far north as Zambia and Malawi and (several thousand) even farther north from countries such as Tanzania. Another 200 000 workers commute into South Africa on a daily basis from neighbouring states.

ABSORBED

In addition to the registered migrant workers, millions work illegally in the country. No man-drawn boundary can stop the unemployed, the hungry and the ambitious from leaving their impoverished home countries and seeking work, cash money and opportunity in an industrially pulsating and economically virile country such as South Africa is.

How many "illegals" there are is anybody's guess but one researcher found that between 1911 and 1957 262 000 people from Lesotho had been "permanently absorbed" by South Africa while another estimated that in 1978 there were 180 000 Mozambicans in South Africa as against the official figure of 49 000.

The number of illegal immigrants rises dramatically at times of crisis in neighbouring countries. Thus, last year, when Mozambicans faced mass starvation and no jobs, 9 000 people flooded into South Africa in a matter of weeks. Typical was the experience of one farmer who was unable to give a Mozambican a job: "But the man is hungry, and so I feed him and send him on his way. Then, when I go down to inspect the lands, I find him working alongside my registered men just so he can be fed at lunchtime."

Almost 90 per cent of the migrant workers from OAU member states are in the mining sector (this percentage is far lower for workers from the former home-

lands). These miners are the best cared-for workers in Africa, according to the South African Chamber of Mines. It's a claim with which few objective observers would argue. Wages are outstanding, and so is the food, accommodation, medical, social, welfare, sporting and recreational provisions.

DOMESTIC SERVICE

For the rest, migrants seek work on farms (those from Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe in particular), in domestic service (chiefly Lesotho, Malawian and especially Zimbabwean migrants) and in construction, manufacturing, the wholesale and retail trade and even in government service.

Registered workers are predominantly male but there are many "unrecruited" female workers, especially from a country such as Lesotho which is in close proximity to towns and cities in South Africa and which counts 15.4 per cent of its total absentees as being women.

Almost all migrants are unskilled and illiterate when they first arrive in South Africa but many are taught to do semi-skilled or skilled work.

Inter-government labour agreements cover, and protect, most migrant workers who are legally in South Africa. Pretoria has formal labour agreements with Bophuthatswana, Botswana, Ciskei, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Transkei, Venda and Zimbabwe.

AGREEMENTS

In general these agreements are based on United Nations criteria for the employment of foreign workers. They stipulate procedures for recruitment usually undertaken by labour agencies that satisfy the health, humanitarian and other requirements of both governments.

The formal inter-government agreements also provide for a certain amount (usually 60 per cent) of a migrant's earnings to be remitted to his home country. This is of enormous benefit to the impoverished economies of southern Africa. For example, migrants' remittances to rural household income in Lesotho is 71 per cent. For every worker in Lesotho able to find work in Lesotho another five or six have to find work in South Africa.

In Botswana only nine per cent of the population has work in the "formal" sector — the rest must either survive as

Employment of Foreign Blacks by Country of Origin, 1975-1981

Country	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
Angola	3 843	805	1 483	341	275	293	69
Botswana	59 835	43 159	43 527	34 664	32 463	29 527	29 169
Lesotho	235 494	160 634	173 882	155 623	152 032	142 329	150 422
Malawi	47 825	12 761	12 413	38 525	35 803	31 824	30 602
Mozambique	250 841	111 257	68 231	49 108	61 550	61 284	59 391
Zimbabwe	13 229	32 716	37 917	27 494	21 547	20 551	16 965
Swaziland	24 703	20 750	18 195	14 054	13 006	12 180	13 418
Zambia	914	766	679	843	809	915	727
Other	9 820	7 162	3 768	6 399	9 224	3 103	995
Total	646 504	390 010	360 095	327 051	326 709	302 006	301 758

The above table details the numbers of migrants from foreign countries working in S.A. for the years 1975-81 (Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1982; Johannesburg, 1983).

subsistence farmers or seek work in South Africa.

More than half of the gross national product of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei is from the earnings of migrant workers and commuters working in South Africa.

Migrants tend to fit in with the local population and there is little resentment of them. Illegal migrants are deported from time to time but there has never been a mass clampdown as in the case of the Ghanaians in Nigeria. Legal migrant workers are guaranteed suitable transport back to their homes on expiry of contracts should they not wish to renew their contracts.

On balance, it is countries such as Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho that have the most need for the migrant labour system in South Africa — and for its perpetuation.

August 1983

CSO: 3400/1933

'APARTHEID REGIME'S' JUDICIAL SYSTEM SCORED

London SECHABA in English Aug 83 pp 12-15

[Article: "Voices of Protest: State Witnesses in Political Trials"]

[Text] *"If I give evidence, that would bring no change to the difficulties under which the people are living here in South Africa, neither would it bring about any change as far as I am concerned, because I will still have no right to vote or have any say."*
(Litha Jolobe, sentenced to four years for refusing to testify, August 1982.)

The apartheid regime is under attack on every front. It is being challenged even in its own courtrooms, centre of the elaborate system by which it attempts to disguise naked political repression with a facade of judicial independence.

The people's rejection of apartheid justice is demonstrated publicly in many ways. Defendants in political trials can rely on the wholehearted support of their community in and outside the court. During 1982 the apartheid authorities were forced to introduce yet more repressive legislation in a vain attempt to contain the people's wrath. It is now an offence for even a single individual to register a solo protest in the vicinity of a court, whether or not it is in session.

Hardly had the new law (Demonstrations in or near Court Buildings Prohibition Act) been passed when the people showed their contempt for this panic measure of the racist regime. In August 1982, three ANC comrades were sentenced to terms of twenty years' imprisonment for high treason in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court. Faced with the anger of the public gallery the police ordered teargas to be fired into the court.

Another indication of the growing awareness of the brutal reality behind the

courts was the campaign against detention without trial, spearheaded after 1982 by the Detainees' Parents' Support Committee (DPSC). They rejected the slogan of 'release or charge,' and chose rather to expose the unjust nature of the laws which would be used if detainees were charged.

However, it is not only the laws which have been rejected, but the whole legal process. One commentator has said: "What, then, is the role of the courts in political strife? In the simplest and crudest terms... the courts eliminate a political foe of the regime according to some prearranged rules..." This is the reality which is being exposed.

The regime struggles to minimise and repress those external protests, yet the most effective challenge to the courts' credibility has come from participants in the drama themselves, in particular state witnesses. The evidence of state witnesses exposes the nature of apartheid law in two main ways - most dramatically, a growing number of witnesses are rejecting co-optation by the regime altogether, and are refusing to take the oath to testify. Other evidence is provided by witnesses who are coerced into testifying, but nevertheless denounce in court the methods used to pressurise them.

Trials Without Witnesses

"You know the courts cannot function if people do not give evidence." These were the desperate words of Judge van Heerden in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court in August 1982, when faced with five witnesses who refused totally to collaborate with the state in its case against three ANC comrades,

Patrick Maqubela, Mboniswa Maqhutyana and Seth Mpumelelo Gaba. The three faced capital charges of high treason and terrorism arising out of a series of bomb explosions in Durban in 1981. The state's case took a heavy blow when five of its chief witnesses refused to take the oath.

The five had been held in solitary confinement for eight months before being brought to court.* No amount of threats or promises could shake their resolve. Two of them were described as accomplices of the accused, and were promised immunity from prosecution if they testified. Litha Jolobe, a law student, stated, "I am expected to partake in the trial of these people, giving evidence, whereas I had no say in making the laws under which the people are appearing in court. The laws were made by the minority of people in South Africa." He was then sentenced to four years for refusing to testify. After receiving the maximum five-year sentence, another potential witness, Mpilo Taho, left the court with his clenched fist raised in salute. Another witness admitted in court that he had originally agreed to testify, but had changed his mind because his Christian conscience would not allow him to testify against "people who are in the struggling class and who are all oppressed by the nationalist government."

Torture, Threats, Bribes

A trial which began in February 1982 in the Supreme Court of the bogus independent bantustan of the Ciskei has been characterised by details of the horrific torture carried out by the security police. In May 1983 Siseko Vanyaza went into the witness box for the defence. He told of being detained in August 1981 as a potential state witness. Whilst in custody, designed, according to the apartheid regime, to 'protect' him from intimidation, he was so badly assaulted that he developed epilepsy, and a district surgeon had to try to revive him: "I was instructed to strip naked, a wet canvas bag was pulled over my head and I was throttled until I fell down. Cold water was poured over my body..."

In another case, this time in the Venda bantustan, Dean Simon Farisani of the Lutheran Church was admitted to hospital at least three times during his detention. He told of repeated beatings to the head and electric shock torture. He was eventually released after seven months in custody, without having been called to give evidence. He had

been assaulted by police officers who were later found responsible at an inquest for the murder of Tshifhiwa Isaac Muofhe, tortured to death in November 1981.

Torture of potential witnesses is not only physical, but also psychological. Psychiatric opinion holds that prolonged periods spent in solitary confinement constitute torture as severe as electric shock torture. Isolation of this sort is of course the norm in South Africa for witnesses and defendants alike. Indeed, the very strategy of mass detentions made not on the basis of information received but rather in order to obtain information is designed to blur the distinction between potential witness and potential defendant, and keep everyone in ignorance of their true status.

An unnamed youth giving evidence in a 'terrorism' trial in Kimberley told the court he felt he would go mad because he spent all the time in the cell talking to himself. Two recent trials in particular have drawn attention to the effect of prolonged isolation on young schoolchildren. These are the recently concluded trial of Oscar Mpetha and others for events arising out of the 1980 bus boycott in the Cape and the trial of five youths in Kimberley in connection with the school boycott in Galeshewe in September 1980. Both relied heavily on the evidence of very youthful witnesses who were isolated from their community by both detention before the trial and *in camera* proceedings in court during which they gave their testimony anonymously.

A fifteen-year-old schoolgirl at Mpetha's trial who had already been held for eight months told the court of her reactions to the news that the trial was to be adjourned: "I wanted to know why. I asked because I wanted to go home. I couldn't stand it any longer." After two days in the witness box she broke down in tears and asked the court to finish with her so she could go home. She shivered so much that she had to be given a jersey to wrap around her legs before she could continue with her evidence. It was apparently provided by a security police lieutenant who had been responsible for interrogating her during her detention and was now in court to hear her evidence. The girl was cross-examined for eight days by the defence, when much of her evidence was discredited.

Gross interference by the security police with state witnesses has come out in the evidence of many trials. Witnesses who have

been tortured into making statements are offered favours as a reward, in the knowledge that if they backtrack they can only expect more assault and isolation. One witness who admitted lying because he would have done anything to get out of detention said it was easier for him to get cigarettes and other favours when he was 'obliging.' Security police in Kimberley gave a Christmas Eve barbecue for detained witnesses in the Galeshewe trial, to which the head of the local security police and the chief prosecuting counsel in the case were reportedly invited. Witnesses who had testified were congratulated, others were encouraged to do so. In spite of this attempt to compromise him, one of the 'guests' later testified for the defence after his release from custody.

Security police methods of obtaining evidence were indicted during a recent trial in Kempton Park, in which the four defendants were acquitted because of the unreliable and unsatisfactory evidence of the state witnesses. The magistrate ordered an investigation into the cases of three witnesses in particular, who he found had been threatened and frightened by security police. At least two witnesses testified that they had been told to fabricate evidence. Another state witness gave evidence in such secrecy that not only the court, but the corridors too, were cleared so that the person could enter and leave unseen.

One of the four defendants in the Kempton Park trial, Innocentia Nonkululeko Mazibuko, had herself previously been sentenced for refusing to testify in a political trial. She was one of at least ten such witnesses called at the trial of former Soweto Students' Representative Council leader, Khotso Seatlholo, and Masabata Loate. On a single day in February 1982, seven of them, including Thami Mazwai, news editor of *The Sowetan*, were sentenced to periods of between nine and eighteen months in gaol. Before Miss Mazibuko's twelve-month sentence was completed she had been made the defendant in a 'terrorism' trial in her own right.

The immediate and obvious penalties for state witnesses who step out of line are prison sentences for one of two offences — either for refusing to testify at all, or for perjury in the case of someone whose evidence in court differs from an earlier statement made during detention or interrogation. In reality penalties may be even more serious.

Modika Tsatsa refused to testify in a court case in March 1981. He had already

been in custody for over a year and had been charged himself, although these charges were dropped and he was subsequently held as a potential state witness. He was sentenced to three years for refusing to testify but, as this was reduced to one year on appeal, he was due for release in March 1982. When his family arrived to take him home they were told he was now being held in preventive detention. He was still being held in July 1983, and his health had deteriorated so badly that he had required two months' care in a psychiatric ward. Another recalcitrant witness, Titi Mithenjane, was repeatedly detained after the completion of an eighteen-month sentence. Eventually he was charged under the Terrorism Act, and in July 1982 was sentenced to five years, though he, too, required psychiatric assessment during his trial, when he showed signs of schizophrenia.

Malesela Moloise was summonsed as a state witness at the trial of the Moroka Three. He was driven to the court daily by Warrant Officer Phillipus Selepe, a notorious traitor who was a willing state witness at many political trials. Moloise, though called as a witness, refused to collaborate with the regime. He would not answer questions put to him and so weakened the state's case. In November 1982 the traitor Selepe was eliminated, and in April 1983 Moloise was charged with murdering him. He was sentenced to death on June 6th 1983.

Voices of Protest Will Not Be Silenced.

It is clear that in spite of the draconian powers at its disposal, the regime is unable to stage manage its show trials to its satisfaction. Resistance amongst state witnesses is high. In just fifteen trials during 1982 and early 1983 at least 41 witnesses refused to testify, or were charged with perjury following their evidence.

Figures such as these, culled from newspaper reports of trials, are likely to be an underestimate. Most witnesses are only known about when their rebellion in court attracts attention, as when Michael Coetzee, a former student from the University of the Western Cape, at first refused to take the oath and then swore allegiance to Oliver Tambo. However, with the increased use of *in camera* proceedings, reporting is becoming more difficult, and, in addition, witnesses who indicate in advance of a trial that they intend to refuse may find themselves sentenced in a separate and unreported court hearing.

Nevertheless, the voices of protest from the witness box will not be silenced and will continue to denounce the apartheid system.

** The regime first introduced powers to detain potential witnesses with the '180 day law' in 1965. The provisions have been strengthened over the years in the face of increased resistance, and it is now possible to hold witnesses for the duration of a trial, providing only that charges have been laid within six months of the date of detention.*

CSO: 3400/1932

PHOTOGRAPHIC HISTORY OF ANC PUBLISHED

London SECHABA in English Aug 83 pp 26-27

[Text] *Unity in Action - a Photographic History of the African National Congress, South Africa, 1912-1982.*

This book, a pictorial history of the ANC, is the first of its kind published by the ANC. It tells in visual form the story of the seventy years of oppression and resistance. Its theme is unity in action, depicting the struggles of the peasants, workers, women, youth, African Indian and Coloured.

Some of these pictures are rare and hitherto unpublished - they were not taken in a studio but on the field of battle. For instance, the telegraphic address of the ICU in Cape Town was, "I see you" (p. 25) - this being a translation of what the Cape Town workers then called the ICU - "Indiyakubona, Mlungu" (I see you, white man).

The ANC documents, such as the Freedom Charter, Programme of Action and the manifesto of Umkhonto We Sizwe, enrich the visual impact of the pictorial history.

In the words of O R Tambo, President of the ANC, who wrote the foreword:

"To this day, historical distortions permeate political rhetoric and are used to underpin the ideology of the ruling class and to provide legitimacy for some of its most heinous expressions: racism and exploitation are institutionalised...the distortion is deliberate: it is used to condone white privilege, to entrench the oppressive and exploitative system and to justify the use of violence to retain power in the hands of the minority. Even the events and developments of

this century, within our living memory and experience, are falsified...

"For the black majority, relating our people's history is not a matter of academic interest alone - the preparation of a report of neutrally observed and agreed facts. Rather, recording our history accurately is a revolutionary act. It serves to enhance our understanding of the past and guides our way ahead; but in addition, it strikes at the very heart of the enemy's ideology and rationalisations, and unmasks the attempt to conceal the inevitability of victory for our struggle.

"This pictorial history, commemorating the 70th anniversary of the ANC, is a contribution to that endeavour. All too frequently cameras, like historians, focus on the rulers, and relegate the people to the background. Most books on South African history tend to be illustrated with photographs of governors, racist ministers, military parades and the leisured white minority. The photographs in this book, many of which were taken by the militants of the liberation movement, place the people of South Africa in the centre - depicting their lives, their conditions, their resistance.

"This is their story - a South African History."

The book is available from Sechaba Publications.

POLITICAL ROLE OF BANTUSTANS EXAMINED

London SECHABA in English Aug 83 pp 8

[Article: "We Are Government Terrorists"]

[Text] The May 1983 edition of *Sechaba* carried an article describing the appalling conditions and situation in Ciskei, whose security chief, Charles Sebe, made the proud claim quoted in the title above. And although the grotesque cowboy regime of Charles and his brother, President Lennox Sebe, merits special consideration, the fact is that the basic conditions in Ciskei prevail in all the bantustans – even in 'non-independent' Kwazulu, where the sophisticated Gatsha Buthelezi presides over similar poverty, overcrowding and disease (including cholera, now endemic) and a programme for removals scheduled to involve half a million people. (1)

Fundamental to the mass misery of the bantustans lies their prime function – to constitute an endless supply of cheap migratory labour on contract to the mines or to farmers, businessmen and industry in the 'white' areas. But the apartheid regime reaps other benefits also.

An important function of the bantustans is to help the apartheid regime carry out its dirty work of repression.

Bantustan 'independence' means that actions carried out in these territories take place in foreign countries, according to the regime, and are not documented by the Pretoria government itself, which also disclaims any responsibility for them.

South Africa can portray itself as improving its performance in the human rights field by reducing its detentions, bannings and political imprisonment, when all it is actually doing is passing on these tasks to the bantustan governments.

On April 2nd 1982, the South African Minister of Law and Order stated that 92 detainees were being held under the General Law Amendment Act and the Terrorism Act, giving the impression that this was the total number of detainees in South Africa. What he did not say was that scores of people were also being held under bantustan laws in the bantustans – under Proclamation R252 in the Ciskei, for example. (Proclamation R252, a Pretoria law applying a state of emergency in the Ciskei and giving 'special powers' to law enforcement officers, has now become incorporated in the Ciskei National Security Act.) The South African Institute of Race Relations had information about 190 people in detention, including the bantustans, at this time.

Over the last year (July 1982 – June 1983), of a total of 260 detentions listed in the International Defence and Aid Fund bulletin, *Focus*, 130 took place in the bantustans. The ruse of the 'independent states' has therefore enabled Pretoria to halve its number of detainees, as far as apartheid's own bookkeeping is concerned. During the regime's intensive action against trade unionists in the year 1981-82, a total of 347 trade unionists were detained – but only 104 by the Pretoria government. (2)

As Supreme Courts are set up in the bantustans, trials are taking place in those courts instead of in South Africa, with the added advantage that they are less accessible to the public, and to lawyers and the media. Of the eight trials taking place in June 1983, two were being conducted in a bantustan (Ciskei) including one where the four accused had suffered grievous torture. Yet, al-

though the four are alleged to be ANC members, who by definition are concerned with opposing the apartheid regime, as far as the apartheid regime is concerned, this whole matter is off the record.

Furthermore, the regime no longer needs to banish people to the bantustans. As they are 'homeland nationals,' it need merely declare them prohibited immigrants, as it did in the case of two people last year – thus effectively banishing them to the Zwelitsha area of Ciskei, without any appearance of repression. (3)

On the more direct cutting edge of apartheid, the South African authorities can be made to look comparatively innocent when they get their brutal boss-boys to do their grisly deeds for them: for instance in Transkei in 1980, where Saul Ndzumu died in detention of 'natural causes,' and in Venda in 1981, where Tshishiwa Muofhe was 'found dead in his cell.'

Bastions of 'Free Enterprise'

The past year has seen a dramatic highlighting of the bantustans as 'free enterprise' entrepreneurial zones, and ideologically committed bastions of the West.

This aggressively pro-capitalist approach has been spearheaded, predictably by the Ciskei, which presented a 'summit conference' of bantustans in November 1982 with a 'Declaration of Intent' stressing 'support for a free enterprise system in contrast to marxist imperialism.'

This aspect of bantustan activities has been accompanied by a flurry of contacts with Western countries, but in particular with the United States, which lifted its 'quarantine' of the bantustans in late 1982. A political officer in the US Embassy in Pretoria, Mr Keith McCormick, then went on a tour of all the bantustans, reportedly to examine the human rights situation. A delegation from Venda has applied to visit the US, reportedly using South African passports. Cutha Buthelezi's contacts with the US have been substantial, including a visit to KwaZulu from a US Republican Senator and Buthelezi's own tour of the US, where he even took an advertisement in the Wall Street Journal, appealing for support in his opposition to the Presidential Council.

Support for the bantustans has been forthcoming from other Western countries. Within the last few months a French bank

has given R16 million credit to Venda, the British firm, Tootal, has set up a blanket-making industry in the Ciskei, and the West German BMW corporation has established a plant in Bophutatswana.

Even more ominously, agents of the most notorious sweat-shops of imperialism are turning their attention to the 'homelands.' According to the British *Financial Times*, (4) the Ciskei National Development Corporation (CNDC) "Does not evade the point that industrialists from places like Taiwan and Hong Kong are turning their attention to Ciskei because it contains a large reservoir of low-cost labour, which is widely agreed to be amenable to training." The paper describes Ciskei as "an extreme example of a free labour market" – an apt comment in the light of the CNDC's recent announcement that it has betrayed even the token commitment to the interests of the Ciskeian people that it originally had. A clause included in all agreements between the corporation and industrialists, giving the CNDC the option to buy industries as going concerns after a number of years, has been waived from all past, present and future agreements, in order to "secure permanence to industrialists in the territory and to re-affirm their right to free enterprise." (5)

In the bantustans closer to the Reef, with its concentration of wealthy, leisured whites in search of 'fun,' the 'free enterprise' has led to the development of 'casino states,' the latest being KwaNdebele. Here, garish opulence and a seamy carnival of prostitution, glittering amid the desolation of hopeless misery and poverty, demonstrates the real meaning of 'free enterprise.'

'They Trample the People'

The blood and death in the prison cells of this 'free enterprise' feeds apartheid; the profits go to the faceless magnates of the West and Taiwan, and the disgusting casino proprietors of the Rand, who sift vice as their predecessors sifted gold, and last – and least, but still substantial – to the Matanzimas and the Sebes and the Mphahaphas, with their million rand estates and fleets of luxury cars. But to the people of the bantustans, this description of Venda goes for all:

"Venda is a land of fear, sudden death, vast corruption, hunger and disease... the Mphahlele rule is the reign of terror exerted by a rogue bull elephant. They trample the people. The whole land is captive. With independence they sold us." (6)

References:

- 1) *Afri Report*, October 1982.
- 2) *Focus*, No 41
- 3) *Focus*, No 42
- 4) *Financial Times*, 12.11.82
- 5) *Star*, Johannesburg, 28.1.83
- 6) *Sowetan*, 24.1.83

CSO: 3400/1932

TRIBUTE TO EXECUTED ANC TRIO

London SECHABA in English Aug 83 pp 2-3

[Editorial: "The Three Soldiers of the People's Army"]

[Text] On the morning of June 9th, night-long vigils came to an end throughout our country, and the mood was one of grief and anger. The nation had lost three of its sons. Despite unparalleled protest worldwide, despite brave campaigning within South Africa, the racist regime was unrelenting in its purpose.

The judicial murders of Marcus Motaung, Thelle Simon Mogoerane and Jerry Semano Mosololi were carried out in an attempt to affirm the power of the apartheid state. But for the people of South Africa, the executions were a call to battle.

Amid defiant protests in many streets of our towns, the ANC flag was held aloft, and hundreds marched in solidarity with the ANC Three. At the Dube YWCA, the hall was filled with freedom songs supporting the leadership of ANC President, Comrade Oliver Tambo. Bishop Tutu's speech was punctuated with shouts of "Long live the Freedom Charter."

In Durban, four hundred workers and students marched through the streets under the colours of the African National Congress. Police arrived in force at the University of Zululand in Northern Natal, where more than seven hundred students demonstrated and set a police van alight. Fort Hare campus was yet another focus for angry protest. In Vosloorus, home of Thelle Mogoerane, over a hundred school students took to the streets, bearing placards. Their action was proud confirmation of the words of Mogoerane's mother, who declared, "He was an inspiration to the youth in Vosloorus before and after his death."

Indeed, the stand taken by our three soldiers proved an inspiration to our people as a

whole. Their deaths evoked more than mourning — they filled thousands more of our best sons and daughters with a stronger dedication, and a determination to take the place of those who had fallen. As with the criminal murder of Comrade Solomon Mahlangu, the racists had failed in their attempts to hold back the struggle. They have succeeded only in adding fuel to the growing flames of revolution in our country.

The significance of June 9th 1983 was not, however, confined to South Africa. The campaign to save the lives of our comrades had become a major international issue. This was reflected at different levels of the international community. Pleas that the three men should be treated as prisoners of war had come from governments, heads of state, the security council of the United Nations and the European Community of Ten.

Equally important, too, were the thousands of people throughout the world who persistently campaigned in defence of our combatants. Through petitions and letters, demonstrations and vigils, the freedom-loving peoples of the world pledged their support for our just struggle. Their actions, and those of the international solidarity movement, hold profound meaning for the oppressed masses of our country. For the anti-apartheid movements, too, the Three became a symbol of heroic resistance. Their deaths have also brought a period of rededication from our supporters, to strive for the speedy and total isolation of the apartheid state.

What have the executions taught our enemy? The racists fail to learn from history. It was the carnage of June 16th 1976 and

the period that followed that steeled the ANC Three to leave our country and become members of the people's army, Umkhonto We Sizwe. The apartheid state took their lives a few days before the anniversary of the Soweto uprisings. On June 16th, 1983, state violence exploded again. In Lamontville, Durban, seven-month-old Khanyile Sibeko and two-month-old Siphindile Radebe died of teargas fumes, in their homes. Their deaths, and those of countless others, will be avenged by those whose lodestar will be the courage and conviction of Mogoerane, Motaung and Mosololi.

Perhaps the finest tribute paid to the ANC Three, a tribute expressing the deepest feelings of our nation, was that made by Mrs Sara Mosololi, when she said,

"Go well, my son. I love you. I am proud of you because you're to die for your people. We'll meet where you are going. You must know the struggle will not end, even after your death."

CSO: 3400/1932

PROMOTION OF SANCTIONS AGAINST APARTHEID SPORT REPORTED

London SECHABA in English Aug 83 pp 21-23

[Text] *"International sanctions against South Africa in the field of sport are directed to apartheid itself; are responsive to the horrors of the whole 'moral deformity' that apartheid represents; are designed to help the many-sided struggle for the eradication of this evil system and the release from bondage under it of the majority people, the black people, of South Africa*

"Apartheid sport is sport in apartheid South Africa; cosmetic changes in club houses and sports arenas that leave intact the whole hideous apparatus of institutionalised racism do not change the character of apartheid sport, or qualify the case for sanctions against it. I cannot stress this too strongly, because the tactic of apartheid's architects and apologists is to deflect the international campaign by diverting our gaze from apartheid itself."

So said S Ramphal, the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, in his opening address to the International Conference on Sanctions against Apartheid Sport, held in London on the 27th to the 29th June, 1983.

The conference was organised by the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee and the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid. It was attended by representatives from the United Nations and other inter-governmental bodies, governments, international sports organisations, the ANC and SWAPO, as well as by individual sportsmen.

Filbert Bayi of Tanzania, former holder of the world record in the 1500 metres, said, "I don't like to compete with people who support apartheid, and I don't like to compete with people who have competed with athletes from South Africa." This principle,

known as the Third Party principle, which provides for sanctions against those who collaborate with South Africa, was fully endorsed by the conference.

The conference was informed about positive steps towards isolating the apartheid regime which have been taken by the Irish and Dutch governments, among others. The French government was praised 'because it used its influence to cancel the proposed South African tour of the French rugby team, and the governments of Ireland, New Zealand and the United Kingdom were called upon to bring about the cancellation of the pending Lions/All Blacks rugby tour of South Africa in July 1983.

Addresses were given by representatives of sporting bodies, such as the International Table Tennis Federation and the Federation Sportive et Gymnique du Travail of France.

There were also reports of campaigns conducted by individuals; for example, in the United States, Arthur Ashe is involved in drawing up a list of sports men and women who refuse to co-operate with apartheid. The Chairman of the conference, H E Victor Gbeho of the Special Committee Against Apartheid, announced that while maintaining the blacklist on the one hand, the United Nations will honour all those sports men and women who have refused to play with apartheid, by presenting them with a special certificate.

"The time has come for the voice of the athletes to state clearly, yes to sport, yes to friendship and NO to apartheid," said Nikolaj Baloshin of the USSR, five times European wrestling champion. Soccer stars Brian Stein (Luton Town) Chris Houghton (Republic of

Ireland and Tottenham Hotspurs) Ricky Hill (England and Luton Town) and Margitta Gummel, GDR swimming champion, endorsed this stand by their presence. There was applause for a message from Graham Mourie, the New Zealand rugby captain who refused to play the Springboks in 1981, and Chris Laidlaw, another former All Blacks captain, appealed to athletes to avoid the temptation to earn a 'quick buck' by going to South Africa. The conference welcomed a statement by John McEnroe, the tennis champion, in an interview with the newspaper *Newsline*, in which he said he had turned down an offer of one million dollars for ten days in South Africa. "I believe in equality," he said, "everyone having the same rights as the next guy, everybody having equal opportunities."

In contrast, the exiled South African tennis player, Jasmat Dhiraj, talked about his own experience of being unable to break into the international tennis circuit because the International Tennis Federation does not recognise the non-racial tennis body in South Africa.

Sporting and Military Links

Sport has become one of the major levers for the apartheid regime to gain credibility and acceptability. A number of cosmetic changes are used to pave the way for even greater diplomatic, political, economic, military and nuclear collaboration. Abdul Minty of the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa, warned the conference that, at times, under the guise of sport, members of the South African racist Defence Force enter countries and use these opportunities to gain military benefits as well.

Representing the ANC, Aziz Pahad said, "London is the heart of all sporting conspiracies with South Africa. It's no coincidence that...the Thatcher government will be build-

ing their new airfield on the Falklands in collaboration with the South Africans." He stressed the need to tackle the case of the individual sportsman, and specifically referred to the tennis player, Kevin Curren: "South Africa will glory in his victory over Jimmy Connors. It was not a personal victory, but one for the South African racists."

On the other hand, precisely because of its mass appeal, a sports boycott (like a cultural boycott) will contribute to getting greater public support for total, mandatory sanctions against such time as normal sport can be played in a South Africa liberated from apartheid. Recurring throughout the conference was the theme that no normal sport can be played in an abnormal society, a point that was made by a documentary on BBC television on 28th June.

Appeal - Support the Struggle

The conference appealed to sports men and women, including administrators and coaches, to refuse to participate in sports activities with South Africa, and to support the struggle for justice and freedom, though such a stand may involve sacrifices, particularly financial sacrifices.

It requested states to deny visas to sports men and women and sports representatives from South Africa.

It appealed to sporting bodies to withhold support from sporting events organised in violation of the Olympic spirit and United Nations resolutions.

It called upon the International Olympic Committee to take action against countries who continue their sporting contacts with South Africa, and declared, "Further, the Special Committee against Apartheid should consider holding a meeting in Los Angeles early in 1984 to assess the impact of any action taken by the IOC on this request, and to determine what this would imply for the 1984 Games."

BRIEFS

NETHERLANDS CULTURAL BOYCOTT CONFERENCE--The ANC Chief Representative in the United Kingdom, Ruth Mompati, spoke at a weekend conference on the cultural boycott, held by the Netherlands Committee on Southern Africa, at Utrecht in Holland. The conference was also addressed by Pandukeni Kaulinge, secretary of the Women's Council of SWAPO and a member of the SWAPO Central Committee. The conference was attended by people connected with culture and the arts, and called for economic and cultural isolation of South Africa, and support for the ANC and SWAPO. A writers' panel at the conference was addressed on behalf of the ANC by the South African writer, Cosmo Pieterse. Also on the programme was the performance of a play written by two South Africans now living in Europe. [Text] [London SECHABA in English Aug 83 p 20]

GUYANAN SOLIDARY WITH ANC, SWAPO--An African Liberation Day rally was held in the Caribbean country of Guyana in May, at the site of the Umana Yana Liberation Monument. The rally was addressed by Raulleigh Jackson, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the People's National Congress Government of Guyana. He said, "The unprovoked aerial bombing of the people of Mozambique by South Africa reflects the success of the liberation forces within South Africa, led by the African National Congress... "The resolute fight against oppression and for freedom and liberation should be saluted by freedom-loving people throughout the world." Speaking of the Namibian struggle, he said, "Now, irrelevant considerations like the presence of Cuban troops in Angola are being raised to thwart the aspirations of the Namibian people. "The Security Council must now act decisively by the use of all measures under the Charter of the United Nations...to bring the South African racists to heel." The rally was attended by a large crowd. Among them were a number of Namibian students, one of whom addressed the rally. The students, under the sponsorship of SWAPO, are on scholarships given by the People's National Congress Government of Guyana, in an arrangement made through the Commonwealth Secretariat. Other Caribbean countries which have given scholarships to Namibian students are Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados and Cuba. [Text] [London SECHABA in English Aug 83 p 20-21]

UGEV PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS CONCLUDES CONGRESS

Ouagadougou L'OBSERVATEUR in French 23 Aug 83 p 8

[Text] After a week of work, the 11th Congress of the General Union of Voltan Students (UGEV) ended last Saturday. In yesterday's edition we presented the two motions in which this work culminated, as well as the appeal to the student comrades to join in a shoulder-to-shoulder struggle. Today we present the first part of the closing address at this 11th Congress.

"Dear friends and comrades:

Here we are at the conclusion of the work of our 11th Congress. The actual holding of this congress is an important event for our organization in view of the particularly troubled and complex context both on the international and the national level.

After examining the development of the world situation, the congress indicated that the various events which have occurred are the result of the exacerbation of the various contradictions in the imperialist and revisionist capitalist system. They are also the reflection of the harshness of the class struggle being waged between the bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and the proletariat and the peoples, on the other. An examination of the situation in the imperialist-revisionist capitalist countries and the neocolonial and dependent countries shows that the multilateral crisis which is shaking up the bourgeois system as a whole is deepening. This is why the putrefaction of the system is steadily worsening on all levels (political, social, military, etc.). This leads to dramatic consequences (poverty, unemployment, ignorance, etc.) for the workers class, the youth and the peoples.

But rising above fear and pessimism, the peoples, under the leadership of the various true communist parties, are going to the barricades in the class struggle to demand water, bread and true democracy. The congress showed the importance of the existence of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, which has not only made the life to which all the peoples and the youth legitimately aspire a material reality, but has above all demonstrated the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system. All of this places us, as a youth faction, in the camp of the peoples and the revolution.

On the national level, the congress calmly analyzed the development of the situation in our country since our last congress. Following these analyses, the congress showed that Upper Volta remains and still is a backward agri-

cultural neocolony dominated by the imperialists, and is suffering from the catastrophic fallout from a general crisis in the system.

We placed particular stress on the total bankruptcy of neocolonialism, which is clearly illustrated by the chaotic situation in which our country finds itself. The reactionary bourgeoisie of Upper Volta and its imperialist allies, mainly French, are solely responsible for this situation.

In fact, the congress, relying on facts, showed that the various reactionary political forces (PDV [Voltan Democratic Party]/RDA [African Democratic Rally], UNDD [National Union for the Defense of Democracy], FPV) and the revisionist sects (PAI [African Independence Party] and Proletarian ULC) have all, in one way or another, participated in the administration of the neo-colonial state regime, whatever the means each used to win power (election or putsch).

Today the various bourgeois forces and their revisionist agents are fighting tooth and nail to exonerate themselves in the eyes of the masses, so as to get them to accept their rubbish and to drag them along with them once again, whether by electoral means or a putsch. This is why the congress, while identifying responsibility, showed that these various paths are incapable of resolving the problems of the youth and the people. From this point of view, the congress urged honest students to abandon putschism, showing also that no coup d'etat could be a revolution. Also, given the current situation, we must remain vigilant, must develop our spirit of persistence and perception, adopting as our main axis the struggle of our people for the triumph of the revolution, a question which has been posed and remains to be answered in our country today.

It is on the basis of this assessment of the situation in the world and in our country that the congress took up the situation within the student movement. It studied it exhaustively and defined the tasks to which we should address ourselves for the continued strengthening of our organization for struggle, as the theme indicated. Following the seminar on the crisis in education in Upper Volta, the congress drafted a platform of demands for the Voltan students. This platform of demands, which is based on our profound and legitimate aspirations, represents a concrete means available to the UGEV today for leading all the democratic, progressive and revolutionary students in our country in the struggle for the improvement of our living and study conditions, for our social and democratic rights, and for the revolution."

In the final part of his address, the president of the UGEV criticized the M21/NCOL, AGEO and OEVN "puppet groups," which he said are losing ground. He concluded by urging all "honest students" to rally within the UGEV, which should place itself under the leadership of the PCR [Voltan Revolutionary Communist Party], the party of the proletariat.

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POLITICAL, SOCIAL ASPECTS OF REGIONALISM EXAMINED

Ouagadougou CARREFOUR AFRICAINE in French No 789, 29 Jul 83 pp 16-19

[Article by Babou Paulin Bamouni: "Upper Volta and Regionalism"]

[Text] For a goodly number of sociologists who spend time on the question, the phenomenon of regionalism is an everyday fact of human life. For everyone is attached to his native soil. Regionalism in general is a result of this. Consequently, it is not a phenomenon unique to Africa, much less to Upper Volta alone. This phenomenon is known and experienced in a number of different parts of the globe, in different ways.

With respect to Africa in general and Upper Volta in particular, regionalism has become an immediate issue since African countries attained their independence: sometimes it is a question of regionalism, at other times one of tribalism, depending on whether the issues are political or cultural. Regionalism thus appears to comprise two broad aspects: the cultural and the political.

In all its many variations, how does this socio-politico-cultural phenomenon find expression in our country, and how has it done so in the past? An analysis of the situation may be able to shed some light on the question.

Cultural Regionalism

Considered as an individual's attachment to his native soil, to his region, regionalism as a sociological phenomenon is a cultural inevitability, since in general each region is steeped in a particular culture which distinguishes its inhabitants. This regionalism may be variously experienced: in an intense or attenuated way, depending on the individual nation and its degree of social cohesiveness.

In Upper Volta, cultural regionalism is intense. This is due to the multiplicity of ethnic groups, to the lack of a more or less uniform national culture capable of creating a feeling of nationhood, and above all to the fact that Upper Volta is not a nation in the cultural, linguistic or economic sense of the term.

Because of this fact, regionalism in its acute form was inevitable in our country, for all the various regions--lacking, as they did, any real inter-regional ties--came to be inhabited by different ethnic groups. Each ethnic group, therefore, has impregnated its region with its own culture and language, which distinguished it from the others. This relative isolation of the ethnic groups one from another works to ensure that each one will remain strongly attached to its region, both culturally and historically. This is why it is defended at every level.

Political Regionalism

Thus, with the advent of independence to African countries, cultural regionalism must naturally give birth to political regionalism, the other broad aspect of the phenomenon. This aspect is more or less deplored by everyone in a number of African countries, including Upper Volta.

Political regionalism is before anything else a partisan impulse which drives a political player to reduce every issue to its impact on a particular region, usually his own. In the words of Mr Z., an administrative official in the Ministry of Interior, "each ethnic group has to defend its region against the others, to keep from being invaded." As for the politician, he must first of all be concerned with his own region, because this is where his relatives live, the people who helped him get an education. According to Mr Z., he is thus obliged to work for that region's development as an expression of his gratitude.

Regionalism is primarily a result of colonialism. Since the best maxim was "divide and conquer," colonialism exploited Upper Volta's ethnic make-up to establish itself. Thus, the colonizer would exploit the ethnic conflicts and wars which cultural regionalism tends to inspire by first supporting one ethnic group against a second, then setting the latter against a third; all this was done to facilitate the colonial conquest. For example: in 1896, the French came to the rescue of the Bissas, against the Gourounsi king, Babato, from the Leo region, before setting the latter against the Djerma. The kingdom of Yatenga was also set against the kingdom of Ouagadougou, to cite just one more example.

In addition, and by means of a racist-tinged ethnology put in the service of colonialism worldwide (including among other things its use in the field of education), the colonizer at times stressed what he saw as the positive aspects of one ethnic group, and at other times the negative aspects--as he saw them--of some other ethnic group, in order to exacerbate the situation and create a feeling of mutual opposition between the representatives of the different ethnic groups it was his responsibility to educate. All these factors, cleverly exploited against an unsuspecting populace, encouraged the appearance in Upper Volta of bitter regionalist feelings which, after independence, would find expression in the struggles of the different groups for power. So in the election campaigns of the 1950's we saw representatives of one ethnic group being abused or hooted at by members of another ethnic group that refused to be governed by a president who came from a different

ethnic group, etc. The representatives of each ethnic group, together with their region, came to constitute constituencies that were inviolable from the outside.

Once these foundations of political regionalism had been laid, the political evolution of Upper Volta would henceforth be burdened by this phenomenon which undermines national unity and makes it very difficult to attain. According to Mr X., who was an activist in the MLN [National Liberation Movement] from its earliest beginnings, the politics of regionalism could have been harnessed to give each ethnic group a certain degree of administrative autonomy, thus leaving each region responsible for its own development without for all that jeopardizing the country's political unity.

However that may be, political or politically exploited regionalism as it actually manifests itself today in Upper Volta has not reached the stage of open conflict, whereas it has become bitter in countries like Ivory Coast, Togo, Chad, Zaire, Nigeria, Rwanda, Burundi, etc. This fact leads outsiders to think that Upper Volta has ethnic unity, and hence national identity. In reality, Voltan regionalism--which is a tangible reality--is attested by a number of ethnic and political rivalries to be found in the society.

Current Manifestations

Political regionalism in Upper Volta is not only found in the politicians themselves, political activities and political parties, but it is also in the bureaucracy, which the colonial-model educational system continues to supply with regionalist elements. In fact, in certain respects the bureaucracy continues to accentuate ethnic differences through geographic administrative divisions that reflect a certain ethnography inherited from the colonial era. And it was also colonialism that brought us the idea of race which we still find on official documents like the identity card, where one can read language like this: "Traditional allegiance: More, Gourounsi, Bobo," etc. and "Distinguishing features: tribal scars." These are colonial terms, and they are still maintained today as such. In every case, the accent is more on ethnic affiliation than on Voltanness. Do these practices serve the cause of national unity, which speaks of Upper Volta as a unity?

Mr Y., a professor at the University of Ouagadougou, said when questioned about the problem that none of these practices strengthen national unity in the way the political authorities would like to see. Mr Y. also emphasized that this [regionalism] has made it difficult to choose an official national language to be used by all Voltans, since every ethnic group involved in politics at the national level has become quite conscious of its turf and is unwilling to concede any ground to another ethnic group in terms of cultural identity. This remark is corroborated by the example of some developed countries, like Canada, Switzerland and Belgium, who are experiencing the problems entailed by ethnically-based cultural identity.

Regionalist Factors

Election campaigns bearing the stamp of demagoguery have been a factor promoting a regionalist mentality. Every region was promised marvelous development projects. On that basis, there began to be competition between the ethnic groups to get a certain number of their representatives in power. This resulted in the formation of governments that took into account not only ethnic groups, but regions as well. Thus, each successful politician had to be ever watchful to defend the interests of his region. For this reason, political alliances were always based on ethnic and regionalist considerations, rather than ideological ones. And for this same reason Voltan political life is characterized by backwardness and stagnation.

Out of a desire to get all the strata of society moving toward social cohesion, radio broadcasts in several national languages are going out over the airwaves; but in addition to contributing to the objective of promoting developing and disseminating information, this leaves an aftertaste of political regionalism. The ethnic groups that are left out of these broadcasts feel frustrated. Thus, in order not to be left behind, they will continue to demand their own air time. But in the absence of one official national language understood by everyone, what else could be done? Still, the problem remains!

Deplorable Actions

Political regionalism has made its efforts felt throughout the machinery of government, by means of the bureaucracy. That is self-evident! And, as the political regimes in power often have a regional base of support, or support based on ethnic alliances, the government's activities in the field of development are constantly suspect. For the idea that some particular region is getting more economic assistance from the regime in power than the others inevitably gains currency. In the end the state abdicates its responsibilities in the field of development. Then we see the appearance here and there--especially in the capital, but perhaps also in the larger towns--of voluntary groups that in reality are nothing but ethnic associations for the purpose of developing some particular region separately.

Then, in order not to lag behind, each ethnic group feels obliged to create its own association, which in reality becomes a regionalist political bastion with which the central government must reckon in making its political and economic decisions. Within the government, the state's complicity is shown by the practice of granting certain individuals who are members of these ethnic or regional associations several days of leave to work on behalf of the development of some particular locality. Thus the state itself dabbles in this business and does not seem to have measured the secondary effects of these practices, which can scarcely be good for national unity.

In a general way, it is once again political regionalism which, at the political and administrative level, drives influential personalities to distort development programs for the benefit of their own region. The project to improve the runway at Bobo-Dioulasso airport around 1972, in order to

handle Aeroflot's large transport planes, is instructive in this regard. One or two politicians thought that project should go to Ouagadougou rather than some other city, even though the studies of the airstrip at Ouagadougou indicated otherwise. In the face of this resistance, the Soviet company opted for Bamako. Who lost?

Similarly, in the interior of the country political regionalism sometimes causes administrators to neglect the region where they are assigned if they were not born there. Everyone tries to work for the development of the region where he was born in order to show his own personal and political success, for ulterior motives. In the political arena, regionalism leads to favoritism. There are even economic and administrative sectors that are wholly monopolized by certain ethnic groups. This fact leads political officials to surround themselves with people of their own ethnicity, with no criteria for selection other than ethnic affiliation or family relationship. Thus, political and administrative positions are filled by incompetents whose professional vacuity is rivaled only by their intellectual backwardness. This is why the political and administrative fields are teeming with crooks and unscrupulous businessmen who are professionally ignorant and ready to thwart anyone really desirous of working for the welfare of the Voltan people.

In the big towns, the fresh arrivals from the countryside transpose their regionalist divisions to urban life and maintain regionalist attitudes. In the case of Ouagadougou, one can see a more or less successful dividing-up of the turf. Thus, one or another neighborhood is seen to be inhabited predominantly by some particular ethnic group, even if the demarcation is not rigidly clearcut.

The spirit of ethnic prejudice, a result of tribalism both past and present (note the conflict in May between Begdo and Niangho villagers that left five dead and many injured in Centre-est department), is still so strong that the path to national unity may not be a quick or easy one.

Social and Political Consequences

The mere fact that the policy-makers officially oppose regionalism justifies us in considering it as a hindrance to social cohesion, as the latter is a goal sought by almost all of Africa's leaders. Political regionalism can cause bloody conflicts and it can also promote unbalanced development of the country. The regions with natural advantages are often supported, while disadvantaged regions are left to their own devices for lack of a policy of national solidarity, even though taxes are the same for all. This can only lead to social injustice and inequalities in the distribution of the nation's wealth.

In a climate of cultural and political regionalism, the ethnic groups do not promote a great deal of cultural and social inter-mixing. Many people in all the Voltan ethnic groups are thoroughly opposed to inter-ethnic marriages. A certain "racial prejudice" subsists between the ethnic groups. And ethnic groups sometimes use the name of another ethnic group as a term of abuse. With

this state of affairs prevailing, any effort at conciliation and general sensitizing of the masses is bound to be difficult. Thus political unity remains unattainable.

This is an open door to instability of institutions and governments. The state is thus weak and vulnerable to external manipulation, in other words to undermining by imperialism or neocolonialism, which, ever since a number of African countries attained their so-called political independence, has been exploiting regionalism (sometimes re-christened "tribalism") to the hilt to destabilize them. This explains the frequent coups we see here and there, as well as the secessionist movements in certain regions, including manipulated movements such as the Autonomy Movement in the West (MAO) which appeared in Upper Volta in 1976.

In the African context, one must recognize that regionalism, as a political evil, is still difficult to circumscribe. The all-encompassing underdevelopment of African states in general, and Upper Volta in particular, only makes more difficult the task of those seeking to find remedies for the phenomenon.

However, in the words of Mr W. in the Ministry of Youth and Sports, "patriotism and nationalism, though far from a panacea, remain valid remedies to counteract the political regionalism we have in the African nations, and more particularly in Upper Volta." "An intense patriotism or nationalism, guided by elements who have clearly risen above any ethnic or regional partialities and are motivated solely by the national interest, would be effective against political regionalism," Mr W. added.

One could speculate, in support of such an option, that the development of a truly national culture rooted in the life of the Voltan nation as a whole rather than in any special region's particularities would work toward smoothing the edge off the petty enmities derived from stereotypes and prejudices which the various ethnic groups have maintained about each other. In this way a truly national feeling could arise. It might even be possible, if that feeling of national identity is attained, to allow each ethnic group to develop culturally along its own path, thus permitting self-determination even on this level.

However that may be, the acceleration of any process leading toward a feeling of nationhood will require Upper Volta to choose a national language to be spoken by everyone. It is a difficult task, as we noted above. Would a referendum on the choice of a language solve the problem? Yes, but only many years after the choice was made!

What is certain is that linguistic imperialism--in other words, the dominance of one language over all the others in the country--is a very long-term solution (50, 100 or 150 years) to the political and cultural regionalism now found in such an acute form. To the degree that such a language is written and spoken universally, it will lead to a uniform national culture that will eliminate any negative connotations of belonging to a particular region.

It would seem that this is the national solution, one which has prevailed in many countries that now have a single language and a single culture, to the problem of completely eliminating that political regionalism which is recognized as the bane of any policy of national unity.

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GENERAL UNION OF VOLTAN STUDENTS HOLDS 11TH CONGRESS

Ouagadougou L'OBSERVATEUR in French 17 Aug 83 pp 8-11

[Text] The 11th Congress of the General Union of Voltan Students (UGEV) was inaugurated at 3 pm on Monday, 15 August 1983, at the House of the People in Ouagadougou.

Members of the UGEV, students and pupils and workers participated in this opening ceremony.

The trade union organizations represented were the first to be invited to deliver their message to their comrades at the congress. They all recognized the timeliness of the holding of this 11th Congress, which comes at a timely moment from the point of view of the events occurring here. They all expressed the hope that this work will produce fruitful results for the well-being of Voltan students.

The opening address was delivered by the president of the UGEV, who addressed anti-imperialist and antireactionary greetings to the participants in the congress, and thanked the guests for attending the ceremony. At the outset, he noted that this congress was being held at a time when the situation both in our country and throughout the world is marked by extreme complexity.

Taking up the international situation, he stated that the capitalist-imperialist and revisionist world is getting more embroiled with every passing day in a generalized crisis which affects all sectors of the system. All the therapies for resolving the problems in the crisis have proven ineffective.

On the economic level as well, all of the capitalist-imperialist and revisionist countries find themselves today on the brink of crisis, the main characteristics of which are declining production, bankruptcies and factory closings, budget deficits and excessive inflation.

The political aspect is no less disastrous. Summit meetings, conferences and international gatherings occur in increasing numbers, but alas, they all end in failure. Instability and government crises are becoming more and more a constant factor in the political life of these countries. The bourgeoisie does not want to tolerate the consequences of this crisis. Or rather, the president of the UGEV added, it is attempting by every means to push the burden of the crisis on the proletariat, the peoples and the young people in

the various countries in the capitalist and revisionist chain. Then, and in order to strengthen its chaotic social policies, the bourgeoisie wants its revisionist and social democratic lackeys in power, as a spare wheel to resolve the crisis.

The speaker added that one of the consequences of the crisis is the exacerbation of the contradictions in the capitalist world, and above all, the rivalry between the two superpowers (USA and USSR) in dividing up the world. In addition, this rivalry poses a threat of a third world war, which is not, however, inevitable.

Casting a glance at the African continent and the other dominated countries in Latin America, Asia and the Middle East, he stated that they are suffering greatly from the fallout from the crisis in the capitalist system of which they are an integral part. Also, in these countries, political, economic and military life is established and reorganized according to the interests of the imperialist powers, such that they serve as the scene for ever more bitter and open rivalries.

Then the speaker turned to Africa in particular, where the fallout from the crisis is very great, being reflected in the crisis in the OAU and the weakening of such neocolonial institutions as the ECOWAS and the CEAOC, among other things. And certain countries, held up as examples of an economic miracle in the recent past, are now on the brink of bankruptcy.

The overall picture on the international level, the speaker concluded, reveals the poverty and oppression of the workers class, the peoples and the youth. But vigilance and a spirit of struggle on the part of the peoples and in particular their youth are, under the real impetus and aid of the ML [Marxist-Leninist] parties, blocking all of these sinister plans of the bourgeoisie. By way of illustration, the president of the UGEV cited the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, a concrete example of the world to which the struggling peoples aspire.

The president of the UGEV then undertook a judicious analysis of the national situation, as follows, before discussing his organization.

The National Situation

Here in Upper Volta, the development of the situation since our last congress has been basically characterized by political instability. Three coups d'etat (7 November 1982, 17 May 1983 and 4 August 1983) occurred.

The CMRPN, which was also put in power by the 25 November 1980 coup d'etat, was to be ousted by the 7 November 1982 coup d'etat, which put the CSP in power. This coup d'etat was basically designed to resolve a certain number of problems on the level of the Voltan bourgeoisie and their imperialist French allies. In this instance, the coup d'etat was designed to do several things.

1. It was to put an end to the disastrous CMRPN experiment, which threatened to compromise the entire bourgeoisie, since its reign was basically characterized by the challenge to the most basic rights of the people, but also the plundering of the financial institutions and state funds by the officials of the CM, who lined their pockets in scandalous fashion and led a life of debauchery.

This was true to the extent that within a short period of time, the fascist CMRPN had become so unpopular and discredited that it was no longer in a position to safeguard the interests of the Voltan bourgeoisie and the French imperialists in particular.

2. It was to reduce the tension which was smoldering and could lead to social explosions and a revolutionary situation.

3. Finally, it was to reorganize the state apparatus, including the armed forces, in which division could already be glimpsed.

It is not without purpose to recall that the CMRPN administration ended in a regrettable failure on all levels--economic, political and social.

One important fact is that the policy of open development of fascism with a whole series of loathsome attacks on the most basic democratic freedoms was unable to reduce the democratic movement to silence. Quite the contrary: this period was to be characterized by the emergence and continual development of a revolutionary trade union movement, while it saw the bankruptcy of the trade union faction characterized by class collaboration in our country.

Despite the statements on the anti-imperialist struggle, the references to the people and the homage to their struggle, the CSP was quick to reestablish all the neocolonial agreements on domination linking our country with the imperialist powers, and it maintained our membership in the various neocolonial bodies for domination such as the ANAD, the CEA0 and the ECOWAS.

However, the demogogy and mystification by these leaders ill concealed their real intention of mounting an attack on the democratic and revolutionary movement, once they were fully established in power.

But the CSP experiment was to be very short, because when this group came to power, it was but the sum of divergent factions in a circumstantial coalition. Despite the statements of the CSP leaders about "internal friendship" and "the common will which motivates us," no one believed them. As the situation developed, there were those within the CSP pulling in all directions. There were two voices within the leadership team, and two main factions took shape therein:

--One urged economic liberalism and favored a return to constitutional life and the reestablishment of the old reactionary political groups (PDV [Voltan Democratic Party]-RDA [African Democratic Rally] and UNDD [National Union for the Defense of Democracy], in particular) in power, with some possible internal alterations.

--The other faction was more in favor of state capitalism, and sought the liquidation of the old rotten parties which had held the political stage since our country won formal independence.

The crystallization of these two reactionary factions and the struggle waged by each to gain control of the state apparatus was to culminate in the 17 May 1983 coup d'etat.

In fact, it was promoted by the French imperialists to strengthen their positions and to counteract the penetration of Soviet social-imperialism through the agency of Libya. The role played by French imperialism in this coup provoked indignation and censure, in Bobo and Ouahigouya in particular.

This was an essentially fascist coup d'etat designed to bring the most reactionary elements back onto the political scene and to put an end to all political freedom. It was a crusade by the most backward, the most reactionary elements against everything progressive. The nature of the elements who paraded their support of this coup, as well as the slogans and banners they brandished, speak volumes about this.

The 17 May coup d'etat was followed by the evaporation of the dream so cherished by the PAI [African Independence Party], and the breakup of the UNC after clinging to the military in order to win power. As during the CMPRN putsch, the PAI had placed its hopes in the promoters of the 7 November putsch, and in particular, on the faction which preached state capitalism. The pathetic appeals launched by the PAI and the LIPAD [Patriotic League for Development] to win back the neocolonial state regime sought to subject the struggle of the people and the students to the unprincipled quarrels into which they plunged with the other reactionary bourgeois forces in our country in the battle for control of the neocolonial state apparatus. Therefore they clung desperately to the legitimate indignation of the popular masses aroused by the gross intervention of France, to lead them astray in the demonstrations calling for the putsch.

But the 17 May coup d'etat and the "national conciliation" for which the chief of state appealed in order to combat the communist spectre, all of the measures adopted within the army and the return to constitutional life--we say that none of these measures was capable of resolving the differences among the multiple factions in the bourgeoisie. Thus the situation was a breeding ground for the numerous bacteria of instability and foreign intervention. At the same time, coups d'etat were brewing in various centers. Thus the reality is that the coup d'etat last 4 August was no surprise to the militants of the UGEV. As a mass revolutionary organization, the UGEV maintains a clear position of principle with regard to coups d'etat, to the effect that a coup d'etat has nothing in common with the revolution.

What can we conclude from all of this?

Voltan society is suffering from a profound crisis. It is a reflection not only of the general crisis which the capitalist-revisionist system is experiencing, but it is also the expression of the increasing acuteness of the

class struggle in the country. A characteristic fact is that this class struggle is spreading through the army, and is keenly evident. The reactionary forces which occupied the political scene after formal independence was won in 1960 are no longer in a position to guarantee the interests of the imperialists. They have led the country into an impasse. The situation of the masses has not ceased to deteriorate since independence was gained. The PDV-RDA, the UPV [Voltan Progressive Union]/MLN [National Liberation Movement], the PAI, the ULC--all these forces participated in one way or another in government administration, and are thus responsible for the present situation. The revisionist factions in the PAI and the ULC in particular are still awaiting the chance for a coup d'etat in order to carry out their foul deed. For example, during the CSP coup d'etat, they pushed boldness to the point of stating that "7 November marked the anniversary of the Great October Revolution. It can be for our people the symbol of a decisive Voltan advance toward revolution" (see LE PATRIOTE, No 25, p 15). By these opportunistic references, the PAI indicated that that 7 November putsch was a step toward revolution. These opportunists can never understand that a coup d'etat never has been and never will be a revolution. The experience in our country reveals the real nature of coups d'etat: they are nothing but brawls among factions of the bourgeoisie in order to shore up their collapsing system.

The Struggle of the UGEV

Dear comrades and friends:

The bourgeoisie has always used every means available to it to liquidate our union. Throughout the past, the UGEV fought the various little groups serving as agents of the reactionary political forces. It waged a battle against the liquidationist maneuvers of the PDV-RDA, in the years between 1960 and 1966 in particular. Similarly, our union has fought against the designs of the reformists in the MLN/FPV and the LIPAD, the appendix of the PAI, known under the name New Reformist Trend (NCR). We have been able to wage a bitter struggle against the Proletarian ULC and its offspring, the M21/NCOL. At that time, there were some who were rubbing their hands: for them it was the beginning of the actual realization of the dream eternally cherished by the bourgeoisie--dividing and splintering the UGEV to leave the field free for the creation of puppet student organizations. The various regimes which have succeeded one another have tried by every means to liquidate our organization. Under the regime of Maurice Yameogo, the UGEV was outlawed. In 1979, the Third Republic regime suspended almost 700 students from the universities in Ouaga and Niamey by means of its 79/386/PRES Decree. Under the CMRPN regime, the most loathsome actions (kidnapping of our members and repression of our activities) were paralleled by the most fascist steps to eliminate the union. This complex of measures includes the commitment to fascism which must be signed in order to obtain a scholarship. With the aid of the revisionists in the PAI and the ULC, there has been ferocious repression of the struggle waged by our AEVO section, by means of 22 exclusions and 97 suspensions from scholarship qualification in April 1981.

Far from weakening us, all of these attacks harden us further and allow us to become very clear about the various forms and permutations behind which our

enemies can hide. One of the means used by the bourgeoisie to wage its struggle against the UGEV is the development of a certain number of theses with a view to discrediting the organization and dividing it from the students as much as possible. One of the most common of these theses is: "the UGEV is a fiefdom of the PCRV [Voltan Revolutionary Communist Party]." This is not of recent date. The reformists in the MLN purged by the militants in 1971 railed about the enslavement of the UGEV to the PAI. Similarly, when they were publicly revealed for what they were within the UGEV in 1977, the PAI revisionists sang the same song. Finally, as a reflection of their disillusionment when the majority of the students refused to subscribe to their rotten political and ideological platform with regard to the political independence of Upper Volta and class collaboration, the proletarian ULC railed that the UGEV was a fiefdom of the PCRV. In reality, the MLN/FPV, the PAI and the Proletarian ULC have never moved beyond the outworn concepts of the Voltan bourgeoisie and the imperialists, mainly French, which have at all times waved the spectre of communism among the youth and the peoples. These opportunists and revisionists are truly the rear guard. Those of us within the UGEV view the development of the communist forces and ideas in our country with favor, because since the Fifth Congress, our union has said that "consistent patriotism is incompatible with visceral anticommunism." At the Ninth Congress, we gained an understanding and acceptance of the principle to the effect that the struggle of the youth and the people for victory and for the achievement of veritable independence and social progress must be headed by the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party. And, to make the recognition of this principle formal, the 10th Congress publicly stated the choice of the UGEV to place itself consciously under the political and ideological leadership of the PCRV, the real vanguard detachment of the workers class in our country.

It is also in the battle against these various enemies that the UGEV has been able to acquire major revolutionary gains, which include:

1. The advancement of the veritable interests of the students and constant struggle to satisfy them with no illusions, but also without weakness.
2. In the conduct of the students' struggle, the UGEV has always had confidence in the honest students in terms of their capacity to defend their organization for struggle and to participate in the strengthening of the popular camp.
3. The correct and far-seeing leadership of the students' struggle, based on our revolutionary orientation, which has contributed effectively to preventing the Voltan student movement from becoming a main striking force in the hands of some faction of the reactionary bourgeoisie and the imperialists, mainly French.
4. The proper understanding of the place and role of the UGEV in the struggle being waged by our people for their national and social liberation. With the birth and development of the UJCHV (the most advanced conscience of the youth in Upper Volta), the UGEV clearly sees its limits and better understand its tasks.

All in all, we can state today that the UGEV is doing well and is ready to advance ever farther in the struggle for its continued strengthening and for a better contribution to the struggle of our people.

And this is why, dear friends and comrades, we have chosen the following as the theme of this congress: "Let us strengthen the UGEV, with a view to

--greater UGEV effectiveness in the struggle for the defense of our material and moral interests, and

--a more effective UGEV contribution and participation in the struggle for democratic and trade union freedoms and for the revolution in our country."

5157

CS0: 3419/1174

BRIEFS

MULOBEZI RAILWAY NOT TO CLOSE--The transport and communications minister, General Kingsley Chinkuli, has said in Livingstone that plans are underway to revamp operations of the Mulobezi railway line, which the government had considered closing down temporarily. General Chinkuli, who had returned from Mulobezi where he defused the 6-day strike over delayed payments of last year's wage increases, said his ministry had been considering the closure of the line temporarily because it was not viable. He told a press conference at Musi-oa-Tunye Hotel that ways of reviving operations of the Mulobezi line, which is leased to Zambia Railways, had to be worked out because people have been relying on the train service for supply of water, food, medicines, and other services. [Text] [MB160949 Lusaka Domestic Service in English 0600 GMT 16 Sep 83]

CSO: 3400/1922

ARTICLE DISCUSSES MANPOWER SURVEY, EXPATRIATES RECRUITMENT

Harare THE HERALD in English 25 Aug 83 p 4

[Text]

THE dominance of white skills in all sectors of the economy during the colonial era has been exposed by the recent national manpower survey which discovered that many black semi-skilled workers qualified for skilled status.

But because of job reservation by the previous oppressive regimes, black workers were categorised as either semi-skilled or unskilled — although a lot of them did skilled work.

After independence, the Government launched the survey which revealed that 173 984 people were semi-skilled and 507 647 were unskilled.

The report also reveals that white women dominated all other women in the professional and skilled categories. This reflected the legacy of the colonial era and the recent resolutions by the NMS seminar in Harare, if fully implemented, would no doubt correct the imbalance and pave the way for more black advancement — making the country self-reliant in terms of skills.

The out-going director of the NMS, Dr Ibbo Mandaza, commented: "The survey was a success in terms of its findings and I have no doubt that if the recommendations are fully implemented, the shortage of skilled manpower will be less."

Dr Mandaza said the resolutions were being studied by the Government and "I have no doubt that it will do its best to implement them".

The seminar resolved that before major projects are undertaken in the country, a comprehensive assessment should be carried out of the manpower implications of such projects to avoid the exacerbation of existing manpower problems through the recruitment of expatriate workers.

It recommended that any development projects should at all times be guided by the country's internal capacity to provide the manpower necessary for such projects.

Dr Mandaza said it was important to find out whether the shortage of manpower itself was realistic in relation to the country's capacity. "If projects are undertaken, we must assess the manpower implications. One must consider the political and manpower implications of bringing in thousands of people from other countries to run the projects.

"If it involved too many expatriates, then maybe we must defer it until such time we have our own people. This is the more positive way of looking at development than the artificial one where you can build hundreds of Kariba dams, but not using your own manpower."

He strongly denied rumours that the survey was almost dedicated to proving that expatriates were not needed and that the shortage of skilled workers had been grossly exaggerated.

"In our report we have specified the number of

expatriates needed per sector and per skill to make sure people come in on the basis of approved need. What we are saying is that expatriation is wrong if it becomes an institutionalised feature. People must come in on the basis of the approved need."

On training, Dr Mandaza said it should be co-ordinated on a national level to avoid any duplication of efforts and to maximise the utilisation of training infrastructure within the country.

To facilitate this, the Ministry of Manpower Planning and Development should clearly outline its national strategy as a guidance for all training as recommended by the seminar.

More consultation must be effected between the ministries of Manpower Planning and Development and Labour and Social Services and the private sector, before any retrenchment was undertaken as recommended by the seminar, Dr Mandaza said.

He said: "Although we have no proof at the moment, we have heard that people about to be trade tested were being retrenched."

The seminar also recommended that:

- Steps be taken to initiate development of a national grading system in order to ensure that workers were paid according to their productive contribution to the economy and that such subjective criteria as race and sex no longer remain the most important determinants of remuneration;

- Careful monitoring should be carried out relating to the import of technology to assess the implications of such imports on manpower utilisation and development;

- The unregulated and unplanned importation of technology would have cumulative effects on the development of manpower which would be one of the major undermining forces of a national manpower strategy. A committee to monitor such technology inputs should be composed of MMPD, Labour and Social Services, the ZCTU and the employers' representatives.

It resolved that a more co-ordinated national strategy on management training should be undertaken — both to rationalise such training and to facilitate the advancement of Zimbabweanisation in the economy. In this regard, such training could also facilitate the introduction of a quota system for Africanisation in the field of management.

There were many Zimbabweans who trained outside the country in various fields who could not get jobs when they returned. And hopefully, if the resolution was implemented, people would be placed in their respective fields. Many on their return after independence got different jobs from what they were actually trained in.

There should also be a co-ordination of SADCC training strategies to ensure that:

- More standardisation of qualifications and certification;

- A regular flow of manpower information and improvement of survey methodologies.

It urged that a Zimbabweanisation Committee be established to ensure the progressive movement of Zimbabweans into top management positions in both the parastatals and the private sector and also equal participation of women and other disadvantaged groups in the economy.

OFFICIAL CALLS FOR COOPERATION WITH DISTRICT COUNCILS

Harare THE HERALD in English 26 Aug 83 p 6

[Text]

CONCERN has been expressed by some farmers in connection with a unified local government system, the Minister of Local Government and Town Planning, Cde Enos Chikwore, told the delegates.

He said some areas had shown a wish to fragment, but this was contrary to Government policy. He urged areas thinking along such lines to reconsider their intention to break away from district councils.

The leadership of those areas should question their motives, taking into account the positive aspects of their association with district councils rather than the negative attitude of wishing to withdraw.

"They should make every effort to work with district councils in a spirit of co-operation and

mutual support, reaping the benefits of membership of a district council," he said.

"The Government has consistently upheld the rights of those holding title to land."

He said farmers should identify themselves with district councils in a common effort to improve rural areas.

Small-scale commercial farmers within district councils benefit from the council's District Development Fund which carries out improvement and maintenance of infrastructure for the benefit of all inhabitants.

It was noteworthy that a feature of recently formed rural councils was that all were experiencing severe financial problems.

FINANCE

Though drought was aggravating their difficulties,

it was apparent the root of the problem lay in their lack of sound financial base, which had been the strength of the old rural councils in the past.

"These newer rural councils are unable to raise finance for the purchase of new equipment in working order," he said. "They are increasingly calling for Government assistance."

He said people intending to withdraw from district councils should not adopt a parochial outlook, but share in the wider experience of co-operation with district councils.

It was essential that the Government vigorously pursue a course of action which would create a system of local government which was in the interests of the new socio-economic order.

ABOLISHED

Since independence the Government had:

- Abolished 242 African councils.

- Created 55 district councils in 53 administrative districts.

- Incorporated all African townships into cities and towns, and enfranchised the inhabitants.

- Encouraged the formation of one umbrella organisation representing all local authorities in the form of the Association of District Councils formed this year.

He said his ministry had established a working party to prepare recommendations for the unification of rural and district councils.

Only two types of council — urban and rural — based on an administrative district, would form the basis of the system, he said.

CSO: 3400/1930

EXPORTERS RECEIVE MORE GOVERNMENT INCENTIVES

Harare THE HERALD in English 27 Aug 83 p 5

[Text]

BY boosting funds available for export incentives, doubling payment times and negotiating trade pacts, the Government has done a great deal to help Zimbabwe's exporters, the Minister of Finance, Economic Planning and Development, Dr Bernard Chidzero, has said.

He told an economic conference in Harare on Wednesday that the sum budgeted for export incentives had been doubled to \$10 million. "It might not be enough but it shows our willingness to help."

A World Bank loan of \$70 million to help exporting manufacturers with raw materials and equipment had been negotiated.

The Reserve Bank now allowed, as a general rule, 180 days for payments to be made by customers, twice the previous time of 90 days.

Finance and trade ministers of the SADCC countries would be meeting in Tanzania, next

month to consider the problems of boosting regional trade and his ministry and the Reserve Bank were also discussing with foreign counterparts ways of financing export deals.

The Government had applied to the Preferential Trade Area to be a centre for payment arrangements and Cde Chidzero understood the application had been accepted.

There were also discussions on barter arrangements and the Ministry of Trade and Commerce had EEC consultants studying export promotion to the region and to the EEC.

The minister was answering a question on how exports could be boosted. The questioner said the problems were

that Botswana was a small market trying to build its own industry; countries to the north and east wanted Zimbabwean goods but had payment problems, and South Africa was not sympathetic to buying more Zimbabwean goods.

Transport costs made exporting further afield rather expensive.

Speaking to the conference on repatriation of dividends for overseas investors, Cde Chidzero said some people thought the Government should not allow such remittances at all.

Cde Chidzero said companies could only remit 52 percent of after tax profits, less the 20 percent non-resident shareholders' tax, reducing the remittance to about 40 percent of after-tax profits.

He recognised the problem of transfer pricing and possible under-invoicing of exports and over-invoicing of imports. The Government was concerned and was devising means to cope with such problems which were worldwide.

CSO: 3400/1930

FARMERS CALL FOR PARTY PEACE, AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Harare THE HERALD in English 26 Aug 83 pp 1, 6

[Text]

THE menace of dissident activities has caused great concern to the Zimbabwe National Farmers' Union, the president, Cde Gary Magadzire, told the union's congress.

He said development programmes were seriously disturbed and fear plus unhappiness prevailed among the farming community.

"We deplore and condemn the perpetrators most unreservedly," said Cde Magadzire. "We feel utterly stunned to discover among Zimbabweans there is a body of people who do not like a peaceful and stable country."

"We demand Zanu (PF) and (PF) Zapu accommodate each other, to reconcile their petty differences in the interests of Zimbabwe. They must know that the impartial referee was the ballot box."

He said that although the drought had paralysed a greater part of the farming community, farmers would in time rise to the challenge.

He paid tribute to the Ministry of Labour and Social Services and the Ministry of Agriculture for the effort that had been made to cushion the drought's effects. This also applied to the Ministry of Water Resources and Development which had taken swift action that averted a crisis.

RELIEF

"Little progress was made in the area of crop relief despite a concerted effort on our part to explain to the Ministry of Agriculture the repercussions of negative response," he said. "We have in principle agreed to disagree with the ministry."

Although combined production had been \$65 million, the small-scale commercial and communal sectors had lost about \$50 million and \$80 million respectively due to the drought.

The importance of a healthy and successful agricultural industry could not be over-emphasised in a developing country like Zimbabwe, said Cde Magadzire.

It could not be disputed that for every person working in farming there were at least 20 people employed in the industries allied to agriculture.

"To succeed in its endeavours," he said, "the agricultural industry must keep abreast of world agricultural technologies and pricing policies."

"It is my conviction that one of the most urgent problems for the Government to tackle is that of agricultural development. The farmers' endeavours must not only be restricted to domestic self-sufficiency, but must also help other nations to achieve this vital aim."

Zimbabwe, he said, abounded with untapped resources, and successful husbandry of them depended on the will of the people. Drought aside, farmers were geared to exploit the many available resources to the maximum.

On incentives, Cde Magadzire said that to announce prices when crops were already grown neither helped the farmer nor the Government.

"This policy of asking farmers to whistle in the dark is catastrophic."

REQUEST

The request by the union to the Agricultural Finance Corporation for short-term loans for inputs had been disappointing. The union felt that measures adopted had been "extremely unpatriotic and irresponsible".

On the budget this year, he said it was realistic in that it made people work harder and, despite the drought and world recession, if other industries worked as hard as the agricultural sector the economy would pick up.

CSO: 3400/1930

SOARING FOOD PRICES SPOTLIGHT COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 6 Sep 83 p 11

[Article by Robin Drew]

[Excerpt]

HARARE — Nothing has rammed home the message so clearly that Zimbabwe is in desperate economic straits than this week's sweeping and massive increases in basic foodstuff prices.

Mealie meal, the staple diet for the people, went up by more than 40 percent, milk by 50 percent, bread by 25 percent. Meat, cooking oil and fats have also shot up.

To soften the blow a little, the Government ordered that people earning less than R320 a month be given pay increases of up to R10. But for the majority of workers, including those in the agricultural, mining and domestic sectors, the increase will be limited to about R5 a month.

The huge hikes in food prices are a result of the painful decision to cut agricultural subsidies savagely and are aimed at saving the Government about R150 million a year.

There have been plenty of warnings that belts will have to be tightened because of the dual effects of the drought and

the world recession.

Indeed "Tighten your belts" might be said to have become the national slogan.

But the ordinary man, who has already suffered from the austerity budget in July — which brought increases in sales tax on most consumer goods, and income tax to those earning as little as R107 a month — must be asking what has happened to the promised fruits of independence.

In just 20 months, for example, the price of mealie meal has doubled. But minimum wages have remained the same despite frequent promises of a review, apart from the compensatory increase for lower-paid workers to coincide with the food price rises.

There can hardly be a single item which has not increased sharply in price. Many of the increases have had a biting inflationary effect, such as the increase in the petrol price — which went up by 38 percent in February — and electricity charges which soared by up to 53 percent in July.

The slashing of the subsidies for agricultural products has been on the cards for some years and an earlier reduction resulted in the first increase in the price of mealie meal at the end of last year.

After the first year of independence, the previous Finance Minister, Mr Enos Nkala, complained that he was fighting a lonely battle to get food subsidies reduced.

He warned then that the subsidy bill would bankrupt the nation and that the day of reckoning must eventually come.

The sacrifices which the people are having to make will revive criticism of over-spending by the Government in other areas — such as the number of Ministers and deputies which Mr Mugabe has around him.

Altogether there are 55 Ministers and Deputy Ministers, making it an extremely top-heavy administration.

CSG: 3400/1931

BRIEFS

FORMER GOVERNOR LEAVING FOR SAFETY REASONS--Harare--Britain's former governor of Rhodesia, Sir Humphrey Biggs, will leave Zimbabwe after more than 50 years to settle in Britain because of the security situation in troubled Matabeleland province, his daughter-in-law said yesterday. Mrs Sue Gibbs said at the family farm at Nyamandlovu, about 40 km from Bulawayo, that the property was up for sale because the Gibbs family no longer felt safe there. At least 100 people, including about 30 Whites, have died since rebel violence increased in the province early last year. Sir Humphrey (80) has been living with his 44-year-old son Tim, who is now looking for a job in Britain, and his daughter-in-law. Mrs Gibbs said her husband intended to leave by the end of this year to join four brothers already in Britain. Sir Humphrey will leave next year. Sir Humphrey first arrived in what was then Southern Rhodesia, in 1928. He was governor from 1959 to 1969, when he stepped down after a referendum made the country a republic. For his last four years in office Sir Humphrey opposed the country's 1965 Unilateral Declaration of Independence from Britain by the then Prime Minister, Mr Ian Smith. His position had been purely titular since 1965 and unrecognised by Mr Smith's government.--Sapa-Reuter. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 15 Sep 83 p 11]

PILOTS TRAINED IN ROMANIA--Harare--Fifteen Zimbabwean air force pilots trained in Rumania have been presented with their wings by the Minister of State (Defence), Mr Sydney Sekeramayi, at the New Sarum air base, Harare, the Ministry of Information announced yesterday. In the same statement, the ministry also announced the names of five air sub-engineers and 22 navigators who had trained and qualified in Rumania. All had been in Rumania since before independence and returned to Zimbabwe on August 23 this year.--Sapa [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 6 Sep 83 p 11]

JET FIGHTERS FROM CHINA--China is reported to be preparing to export 22 to 24 units of the J-6 Farmer-D jet fighters to Zimbabwe and it is expected that the order will be met before the end of this year. The supply of these aircraft will represent the first major agreement between China and the African country and reflects an interesting effort to regenerate exports of Chinese arms to East and Central African nations. It is understood that some 100 to 120 Zimbabwe personnel were recently screened for further maintenance and flight training in China and for future work with the squadron. Most of the Zimbabwe Air Force personnel are now African natives, following a large number of resignations by the European personnel. [Text] [Kuala Lumpur ASIAN DEFENCE JOURNAL in English Sep 83 p 97]

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